

[11th March 1947]

[Note.—An asterisk (*) at the commencement of a speech indicates revision by the Member.]

II.—GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE BUDGET FOR THE YEAR 1947-48—cont.

MR. PRESIDENT :—“ The general discussion on the Budget will now be resumed. We have barely two hours before us and I hope all speeches will be closed by that time.”

* K. UPPI SAHIB BAHADUR :—“ Mr. President, Sir, yesterday, I was telling the House about the co-operative societies in Malabar. In the course of my statement, I referred to the income which a society has made within one and half months. Sir, I gave some figures yesterday which I wish to correct. The actual figures, as they stand and as published by the society, are as follows. The society was started on 29th September 1946, and worked till 13th October 1946 and the accounts rendered by it on 30th November 1946, that is, after one month and fourteen days of its working, showed that it made a net profit of Rs. 29,965-9-5. The capital of the society was Rs. 74,475. Don't you think that even this is a very huge and fabulous profit. Now that two months have elapsed since the publication of this note, naturally they must have made a bigger profit than this since then, because, they have to incur a certain amount of expense in the initial stages.

“ Now, Sir, let me refer to other affairs of this Government during the ten months they were in office. I have to thank the Hon. the Premier for having introduced Prohibition and for his attempting to stop betting. Prohibition is a thing, Sir, which we all desire and especially so, the Mussalmans. We are prepared to pay for it. We have no quarrel with the Hon. the Prime Minister or the Madras Government for imposing taxes in the name of Prohibition. But we were once told that they were going to make the Madras Presidency a dry area and so they have to tax us; but soon after the burden of tax is there and liquor too is there. Now, again, they are trying it as an experiment. If they succeed, well and good. We will be mighty glad over it. You will admit, Sir, that no other person than the Prophet Mohamed has been able to bring about Prohibition cent per cent within twenty-three years of his prophethood. You know, Sir, he made the whole of Arabia—a country where the population was then swimming as it were in liquor when the Prohibition order was announced, immediately the streets of Medina was flowing with wine—Nobody else was able to do that. That is the position there even to-day. Here, if the Hon. the Premier is able to accomplish that, I would be mighty glad. But I have my doubts. I only suggest that this mild way of closing liquor shops and asking people not to use liquor will not solve the problem. It has been tried elsewhere in America and failed; the previous Congress Government themselves had attempted and failed. However, the Hon. the Prime Minister has taken the courage to try it again. I wish him all success but still I have my own diffidence about it. I suggest that if you want to succeed in this, you will have to give up some of your notions about humane treatment and all that. If you really and sincerely wish

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to have the millions of this country from this immorality this ruinous habit, this social plague from the country, then resort to Islamic laws at least in this matter. That is you should bring forward a measure like the one you passed in this House the other day. If a man is found drunk, bring him in public and flog him in the public. (Laughter.) I anticipated this laughter. If you do it in the case of one dozen people in the City of Madras, I assure you that millions of people will be saved. (Laughter). Nothing short of this is going to stop the evil."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" Is that Islamic law? "

* K. UPPI SAHIB BAHADUR :—" Yes, Sir. But some other laws to safeguard innocent persons have to be adopted. In other words, if witness gives false evidence against a person, he must be punished more severely. According to Islamic law there is no mercy shown to him. It is only if you could get proper evidence—eye-witness's evidence, you can punish a man. Sir, I may tell you for the information of the House, there is another law of the Muslims which is equally beneficial to the society and that is, if a man steals and is caught red-handed, the punishment awarded to him is to cut off one of his hands. Mr. President, these laws had been tried for centuries. Even in this twentieth century, it is applied and found successful in Arabia. Before Ibn Saud came, the Turks who were ruling the country, introduced the modern punishment like imprisonment.

" But Ibn Saud reintroduced Islamic law. Since he introduced this law there were not more than a 100 people who were punished. The result is that now in Arabia even if people threw valuables in the streets nobody dares to touch them. You can ask about this from people who are coming back from Arabia. So, Sir, I say that if you want to save the society there must be exemplary punishment and we are prepared to co-operate with the authorities if they adopt any such measures. 11-30 a.m.

" Now, Sir, another thing which evidently is in the minds of everybody here is about blackmarketing and control. I say to the Government, you give up all controls and allow things to settle themselves; then everything will be normal and will find its own place. What is happening is, the moment you intend to introduce control over a particular thing immediately that thing goes underground and the prices rise. It is not available in the market. If you withdraw that control, suddenly the price may go up. But it will be only for a few days or one or two weeks, the pendulum may swing the other way, but it is bound to come to its level and it will come. You have got so many examples for this. Take the case of jaggery, the moment you imposed control jaggery was not available in the open market and prices went high, abnormally high; but again when you withdrew the control there has been an improvement in the situation and things are returning to normal. You remove all controls except in a few cases. After all, nobody wishes to give away money for the pleasure of it unless it be for an urgent necessity. People themselves will bring the prices to their normal level.

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"With regard to the control of coconut oil in Malabar, you have been very hard. I think this Government did not realize the cultivators' position there at all. Sir, for some years, that is before the war began, the position of the coconut producer was very miserable. In Malabar you know, Sir, there are not many coconut gardens of 20 or 25 acres. They are very few and far between. All coconut is produced by small cultivators holding one acre and two acres, or say five acres. Sixty per cent of the population are getting on with this cultivation and before the war, when the price was very low, it was not at all paying. We were agitating for this in 1930-34. I was in the Central Assembly and was very often bringing this matter before the Central Government. They had then begun to allow Ceylon coconut to come in. We asked for protection of the poor coconut cultivators by stopping import of Ceylon coconut, but for some reason or other, the India Government did not heed and the result was that we suffered. Now what happens? When the Ceylon people found other markets for their production, the prices here rose and when the pendulum of price has swung towards the cultivators' side, the Government comes in and controls. It has hit the poor coconut producers in Malabar and it has benefited the big merchants of Bombay. The latter purchase from the small cultivators at low prices and sell them in the Native States, where there are no controls at a very high price. It appears nuts are sold at Re. 1-8-0 each. You may control the price of oil and copra but not nuts. And you should allow free movement of this within the Province.

"Then with regard to yarn, yesterday on the floor of the House, an Hon. Minister on the other side told us that in the transaction of yarn they allowed 18½ per cent to middlemen for taking the yarn and passing it on to the weavers. Is it not a fabulous percentage of profit? Thus is not this action of the Government responsible for the high prices of handloom cloth? I ask the Government to go into the matter and allow them 5 per cent when 2 per cent and 2½ per cent were considered to be very big profits in the pre-war days, now they are allowing 18½ per cent.

"Let me now come to the educational policy of the Madras Government. I do not want to enter into the big problem of education, because it has been so beautifully and so eloquently dealt with by Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar. I have only to say that the educational policy, so far as the Muslims are concerned, is rather very unsatisfactory. The other day the Hon. Minister's statement, coupled with the reply recently given to a memorandum submitted by the South Indian Muslim Educational Association, was very disappointing. The Government is slowly brushing aside all our demands by flimsy arguments and the result is, the more you refuse the greater is the demand or resistance. You have been trying to enforce the regional language or mother tongue or whatever it is, and you are forcing us to study a language other than what we wish or rather you refuse to give facility for a language which we want. You try to force us to study the language

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which you want. We are prepared to study the language which you want but give us also facility to study our language. Why do you refuse? What is behind your mind, I ask? Are you trying to keep us from coming into contact with our culture. Is that your motive? I am bluntly putting this to you. If that is your idea we may as well tell you, woe unto this Presidency; we are not going to give up our culture or religion; on that score we will go to the extreme. Mr. President, we have been living together for the last many centuries. There were days when the Muslims ruled over India. Did they object you from studying your culture or your religion? We did not do that and everything was amicably going on. There might have been here and there some troubles. For 800 or 900 years we lived together. We did not prevent you from studying your language nor did you prevent us. Let us go on in that way. Now you are in power. Give us facilities to study our language. Do not say, no and speak about this bunkum of regional language, mother tongue and all this because they are all mere eyewash. Sir, then with regard to Muslim education. Formerly some provision used to be found in the Budget. Now there is only provision for European education. It seems that we have to depend upon whatever doles that you may be pleased to give us for our special education and we will have to be satisfied with that. That is the stage to which it has come. Within the Muslim education there was another special education, education for the Mappillas. Provision for that also is not to be found here. This is our lot in a Hindu majority. Sir, there is a Government High School in Malabar which has no hostel, no school building. It is located in some Government Training school or so. There is a Muslim Girls' high school at Tirur. There is no building for it. It is located in a rented building and we have been crying for the provision of a building. Provision was made in the previous Budget, not in the last Budget, but in the Budget previous to that and that is not to be found here, after this Government has come into power. If this is your attitude towards us, it is no wonder that we ask for Pakistan. It is such resistance to such refusal on your part of vital requirements of the Muslims that has led to the present situation. The more you refuse, the greater becomes the resistance. That is quite human. I do not propose to take much of the time of the House. I will only say that by your policy since you came into power, so far as Mappillas are concerned, you have driven them from their trade and you are very niggardly in helping them in educational matters.

"You are obstinate in giving us our rights and under those circumstances we have to think very seriously about our future. Now, what we find is that the Congress at last is forced to agree to the partition of India. But it is conniving at partition of India not only into two but several divisions. So I have seriously to think whether we should not put forward our claim for Moplastan."

11-45
a.m.

* DR. SYED TAJUDDIN SAHIB:—"During the annual Budget discussion, we used to travel in a mental aeroplane from

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China to Peru; but to-day being the last day, I am afraid we will have to race against time and much more, you may not be in a mood or able to allow us sufficient time."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" It is not a question of mood but one of ability."

* DR. SYED TAJUDDIN SAHIB :—" I would, therefore, like to confine my remarks to one or two subjects, such as medicine, public health and some aspects of education. I wish the Health Minister were here so that she may take note of what I say with regard to the reorganization of the Medical and Public Health Departments. Of course our Hon. Premier is a many-faceted genius and he can take notes in respect of all departments but it would be much better if the Hon. Minister for Medicine and Public Health is here.

" This year's Budget is a humdrum Budget, save for some two or three outstanding features. It has been prepared in the same old rigmorale fashion as in the past.

" We are passing through revolutionary times; the whole world is in a melting pot; times are very, very stirring; the days of autocracy, bureaucracy are no more and we are having popular and national governments. When such is the case, we must also try to have far-reaching schemes with a revolutionary flavour about them.

" I feel it my duty to offer my warm congratulations to the Premier and his colleagues for declaring eight more districts dry this year; we would have been all the more pleased if he had straightway declared like a benevolent autocrat, the whole Province dry."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" He would have done so if he were a despot."

* DR. SYED TAJUDDIN SAHIB :—" In such matters, we would freely allow him to be a despot.

" The Government and especially the Health Minister deserve our gratitude for the great filip that is about to be given to the Indian systems of medicine despite opposition of vested interests and some allopathic practitioners. During the regime of the late lamented Raja of Panagal, the Indian systems of medicine like the phoenix rose from the ashes; but though living, the systems were only able to keep body and soul together and there was not much of vigour in them. I find now that the Health Minister is breathing a new life into those systems by extending the hand of help. We are immensely pleased that the School of Indian Medicine is going to be converted into a college. In that connection, may I not repeat what I said in some other occasion that the general qualification for admission into the college should not be less than a pass in the Intermediate in Arts.

" With regard to Medical and Public Health Departments, I would like to say that a comprehensive service for the prevention and cure of illness and for post-medical rehabilitation is a prime

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and a basic need of the hour. The scheme for national health service should ensure that every citizen, man, woman or child, shall have equal opportunity to benefit from the best available medical and allied services, if the Government is going to assume the duty of guaranteeing as a citizen right"

MR. PRESIDENT:—"The Health Minister has come."

* DR. SYED TAJUDDIN SAHIB:—"I am very glad and I am much obliged to her."

"If the Government assumes the duty of guaranteeing as a citizen right that one and all should have free medical care according to the medical need of each, three inevitable and inescapable obligations devolve upon them. Firstly, it should bring about a better geographical distribution of not only doctors but also medical resources, for a sort of maldistribution occurs in several districts and so earlier it is cured, the better. Secondly, the highest attainable quality must be vouchsafed to the people at large. Thirdly, the Government should explore ways and means to solve the financial barriers. It is the job of the Government to clear these financial hurdles. There is little use in carrying out reforms here and there but the plan should be such that, if carried out, the reforms should amount to a revolution in medical services."

"The health of the community depends upon three main factors. The higher the living standard the better the health and undoubtedly living standards should be raised considerably. Secondly, the higher the standard of education, the better the health of the community will be and thirdly, there should be an organized public service to prevent disease and arrange for early diagnosis and suitable treatment. Each factor is essential in itself and each complements the other. In advanced countries, 'public health' has now become 'social medicine,' a sphere of social service directed towards the medical protection of the society and its individuals through organized and co-operative and collective effort. We must do our utmost to diminish three things above all others, namely, poverty, disease and ignorance. These are the three monsters, the cyclops that bar the gate of the country's progress. We should not forget that disease is as much the result of social and economic maladjustment as of infection and we must not labour under the notion that infections alone bring about disease. Social medicine is no new thing, either in this country or in others. It is an integral part of preventive medicine. The purpose of this science and art is application of knowledge to the prevention of disease. So the creation of a University professorship of Social Medicine and the foundation of an institute in which the professor will work, are both vitally important. The medical curriculum and the practice of medicine should be reconstructed with these ends in view. The knowledge already gleaned in the field of preventive medicine should be made more widely known and more freely offered."

"The public should be educated in the right mode of living. National nutrition should be under the Food Minister, who should take over the duties among others as to the purity and standard

12
noon.

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of foodstuffs. We need a number of nutritional institutes, as we find in Russia, to conduct researches on nutrition and train dietetic specialists. There is only one in this Province. These specialists should be made to supervise canteen cooking, cooking in hostels of schools and colleges and in various such other places, and food storage and hygiene. Technical experts, who will inspect and advise on school meals, are badly needed.

"Milk, Sir, is needed not only for adults but also for infants, children, expectant mothers and invalids. A sufficient and safe quantity should be secured. As it is, there is a great dearth of milk specially in this metropolis. Adulterated milk carries with it many infections, and the best way to remedy this source of infection is to have it pasteurized. In England, and even in other parts of the West, ninety per cent of the milk supplied is being pasteurized. In Madras, I believe, there is only one place, namely, the Co-operative Milk Union, where milk is pasteurized. So, Government should see that non-pasteurized milk is not allowed to be sold in any part of the metropolis or even the Province. To avoid such infection, reconstituted milk is much better than natural milk which is not pasteurized. Powers, therefore, are needed to detect and prohibit the sale of infected and adulterated milk which causes tuberculosis and infectious diseases, such as typhoid, diphtheria, epidemics, sore throat, and all the rest of it.

"Now, Sir, I wish to say a word on dental services. The importance of teeth cannot be over-emphasized. I would even go to the length of saying that teeth are the pegs of health. There is a Tamil proverb which says:

‘பல்லுப் போச்சு, சொல்லும் சுகமும் போச்சு.’

The very health will be lost for want of teeth. Sir, God has not provided any grinding machinery in the human stomach. Naturally, the teeth do the grinding part of it. If such an important instrument is lost to the body, then woe unto the digestive system."

MR. PRESIDENT:—"I am sure you doctors will invent a grinding system in the stomach. I do not know if the stomach goes on grinding."

* DR. SYED TAJUDDIN SAHIB:—"We are not inventors in any sense in this matter. We can only set right things. Spare parts are not available in Nature's factory (laughter) to replace any organ in the human system. Plans, therefore, are needed immediately for constituting a comprehensive dental service all over the Province. A dental service for the whole of India should be provided as soon as possible in view of the importance of teeth to health. The existing independent dental services may be absorbed with mutual advantage. In this connexion, I wish to emphasize that each and every educational institution should have a dentist, because once the trouble starts in childhood it never stops anywhere especially such remediable diseases as carries. So, it is very necessary that every educational institution should have a dentist.

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"Ancillary services.—There are several ancillary services included in the medical and health services, such as nurses, midwives, health visitors, sanitary inspectors and others. As a wider concept of preventable medicine prevails, these ancillary services multiply. This needs co-ordination in the scheme of reform. There is a dire dearth of trained nurses. In the whole of the sub-continent, namely, India, there are only about 5,000 nurses as compared to 50,000 doctors. In our Province there are only about a couple or at the most 300 of them. This betrays the backward status of the profession. Therefore, Sir, conditions of nursing services and remuneration require immediate and satisfactory consideration and organization. Improvements in hours and conditions of work should be called for. A need for recognition is keenly felt, for an assistant nurse who need not be so well trained as the registered nurse. They may be allowed to do nursing work of less importance under supervision. Moreover social obstacles should soon disappear. This urgent problem now chiefly awaits leadership from Indian women of all castes and creeds.

"Industrial health is still chiefly a private responsibility, and Government has not assumed full responsibility yet. It should become the major activity of the Government. There has been little improvement since the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Labour in India in 1931. It is high time this Government takes adequate steps to counteract the serious effect on the health of the workers. It is high time a school medical service is set up, and linked up with public health activities. The school medical service should not be purely consultant and advisory, but provide actual treatment. Certain special clinics for pressing conditions such as the removal of enlarged tonsils and adenoids, cure of ringworm or fungus and dental diseases. An all-round scheme of reform for all the health needs of the school child and specialized advice and treatment in all children's diseases, and departures from normal state of health is imperative. For, our object must be to build up a healthy and sturdy stock and prevent both invalidity and disease. Tuberculosis, Sir, is a dire and insidious disease to which thousands and tens of thousands fall victims year after year. We should deal adequately with the prevention and treatment of it on modern lines. Every scheme should provide full and proper combination of means both for prevention and for treatment. It is very unfortunate that for this vast premier Presidency only one tuberculosis sanatorium, worth its name, is available. Of course in Tambaram and Perundurai there are two institutions but they are not up to the mark. These three institutions have to cater to a population of fifty millions, and consequently patients have to wait for beds for months and months together. By that time the disease gets the upper hand and gets into the third stage which, mostly, is incurable. This is a grave situation, and so Government should see its way to start many more sanatorium hospitals in a number of suitable places, specially in hilly stations, so that every tuberculosis patient may have an opportunity to receive the best available modern and special treatment.

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"Now, Sir, I come to venereal diseases. There are meagre facilities . . ."

SRI B. BHIMA RAO :—"On a point or order, Sir. May I know how the mention of these diseases is relevant to the budget debate?"

* DR. SYED TAJUDDIN SAHIB :—"Of course, it is only in budget debate we have to place our suggestions, which are to be implemented by the departments concerned or the Government."

MR. PRESIDENT :—"I too feel that the hon. member need not go into so many details."

* DR. SYED TAJUDDIN SAHIB :—"I will finish soon, Sir."

MR. PRESIDENT :—"Practically you have exhausted your time."

* DR. SYED TAJUDDIN SAHIB :—"With regard to venereal diseases, there are very few centres in the whole of the Province. The new schemes should be such as to have a centre within every ten miles, so that special treatment for venereal diseases can be had."

"As regards research, it is considered to be the touchstone of progress as it is in all other spheres. In the scheme of public health, medical research should play an all-important part. In the present University Medical education there is little scope for research as compared to that undertaken in the University Medical Colleges in the West. This should be attended to. Doctors should be sent to foreign countries, periodically, to have their mental cobwebs removed. They should have their 'quinquennial brain dusting,' as it were, once in 5 or 7 years."

12-15
p.m.

"The inclusion of politics into national health is not conducive to public health. Just as the Minister gets acquainted with the work of his portfolio, when initiating certain reforms something undesirable happens and a change of hands takes place. Health reform ought not to be a counter in the game of politics as Sir MacNally once said. Sir, I have finished with the medical and public health topics."

"Coming to the question of language, I wish to place before this House a few considerations."

MR. PRESIDENT :—"I hope you will be short."

* DR. SYED TAJUDDIN SAHIB :—"Yes, Sir. Sir, language, we all know, is a great unifying, and not only unifying but a potent political and cultural factor. As such we, Muslims, belonging to the minority community, regard it as of vital importance. India is not a unilingual country. It is not even a bilingual, but it is a multilingual sub-continent. The language problem is not a local problem either of this province or of this country. It is a world problem. About 30 countries are facing this language problem. So what we, Muslims, want is that we should be allowed freedom to choose what language we want for our children and our children's children. Sir, this is a very

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reasonable demand of ours. No Government on earth should compel any community to have a particular language which is not liked or which is resented by a particular community."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" Except perhaps the British Government."

* DR. SYED TAJUDDIN SAHIB :—" Sir, British Government is taking leave of us."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" They made study of English compulsory."

* DR. SYED TAJUDDIN SAHIB :—" Yes, for various reasons. I shall come to that presently. There is our mother-tongue; and there is going to be another language for our province, and they call it, regional language. And there is a third language which we cannot escape. I mean English the world vehicle we want it for commercial purposes and for some other reasons, an international language. Such being the case, we should be allowed to have our own way. As I said, Sir, at least thirty countries are affected by this question, and the tendency to bilingualism or trilingualism is increasing day by day. The mother-tongue is the most important of all. It is part and parcel of the texture of a man's personality, and therefore we cannot afford to lose our mother-tongue. If it is neglected the child will be affected. Let us consider, Sir, the bilingual area situation in the three continents, viz., South America, the eastern sea-borne territory of the United States and Belgium in Europe. Every South American republic is compelled to face bilingual problem in all forms. First, there are the small but important minority of Europeans of Northern American descent with schools of their own, in which instruction is given in French, English, Italian and German. Secondly, there is a larger minority of many millions of native Indians who speak one of the different Indian languages. Many State schools now exist for these Indians, as Wyatt Rawson pointed out. So why not even in India such State institutions exist for Muslims, who are in a minority in this province. The Muslims who are in a majority in some other provinces in India I believe it is the bounden duty . . ."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" I hope the hon. member will finish before 12-30."

* DR. SYED TAJUDDIN SAHIB :—" I will finish even before that, Sir. It will be the bounden duty of this Government to allow us to pick and choose what language we want for the benefit of our children. Even granting that some Muslims in some places are not having Urdu as their mother-tongue, I would like to point out that because of want of facilities for learning Urdu, these people have not been able to have Urdu as their mother-tongue. If proper facilities had been provided by this Government and the previous Government, they would have taken to Urdu. For instance, when I was a school boy studying in a High school in Tanjore there was no munshi at all in the school. Necessarily I had to take up Tamil as my second language. It was

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a great handicap to me as Urdu was my mother-tongue. I had to study Urdu side by side with Tamil. It was an additional burden on a child's mind. It is a great handicap to Muslims. When we have a popular and national Government we look to them for a little sympathy towards our difficulties. At least this province should show to the whole of India that they are not harsh towards a community who desires to have a reasonable demand of their own. I hope better counsels will prevail in this province as well as in other provinces. Of course in Northern India, Urdu is widespread and the problem is not so acute as it is in the south. So if it is solved here, the whole problem could have been solved in a great way.

"Then, Sir, with regard to general education, I would like to say a few words. The present education does not quite fit a person for his life's work. It is more theoretical in its aspect, and hereafter it should assume a practical bias. It should be highly practical in its character. A free and compulsory universal education, Sir, should come immediately. There is no use of just declaring a certain area here and a certain area there for this purpose. With one stroke of the pen our Hon. Premier should declare in the whole province a free and compulsory universal education. There is no justification to say that for want of funds it is being kept back. His hands are not tied to levy taxes. We on our side from this side of the House are prepared to offer our fullest support for any good cause, as we have shown our intention with regard to good schemes, such as Prohibition and prevention of gambling and such things. Therefore I appeal to the Hon. Premier and his colleagues that they should bring about a great reformation in the realm of education and in medical and public health spheres."

* S. K. SHAIK ROWTHER SAHIB BAHADUR :—"Mr. President, Sir, I have read the Hon. Premier's budget speech with interest and considered the various remarks he has made therein. It is said that last year's budget has been hastily prepared but the Premier has had ample time to prepare the present budget. I find, Sir, the present budget is not more satisfactory than the last budget as it contains few promising features.

"Sir, first and foremost I would like to discuss the policy of the Government as regards State-trading and nationalizing of industries. The Government, instead of concentrating their attention to govern as other Governments are doing for improving the lot of people, is giving more attention to the trading and thereby eliminates business people from the usual trade channels. This will retard the economic progress of this province. It is a well known fact that trade and business are the factors which contribute towards the progress of a country. The next problem I would like to discuss is the food problem of our province. Last year during the months of June and July we were in a very desperate condition and we were on the verge of a famine but by the grace of God and timely action of our Government and help from foreign countries we were able to have a narrow escape from famine.

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" This year the favourable seasonal conditions will no doubt improve the food situation considerably but we should not forget the lesson we have learnt last year. It is owing to the indifference of the previous Government to the agricultural development of our province and the construction of irrigation works that we were driven to such sorry plight last year. With the advent of the popular Government we thought that there will be substantial improvement in the agricultural development, irrigation and other facilities. Now, Sir, the amount allotted to irrigation in the present budget is not at all adequate. Although certain irrigation schemes have been prepared for Malabar long ago the actual work has not been commenced so far. I request the Government to expedite the construction of anicuts and reservoirs in Malabar and save us from depending upon outside countries. 12-30 p.m.

" The next important item I should like to discuss is about the Textile policy of the Government. The Textile policy of the Madras Government is quite different from that of other provinces. I am at a loss to understand the attitude of our Government in not accepting the spindles allotted to the Madras Province by the Central Government while all the other provinces desire to get more spindles than what have been allotted to them. Although the Interim Government which is also a Congress Government advised our Government to accept the spindles allotted to Madras and although there is very strong opposition from the people of this province about the refusal to accept the spindles our Government still contemplates to fight on a legal basis. This attitude of our Government will aggravate the hardship to the people as regards cloth supply.

" Sir, the Textile Department was working very unsatisfactorily in the past. Now the department is reorganized and the work of distribution of mill cloth and yarn is entrusted to the District Collectors who will be helped by the Inspecting Assistant Textile Commissioners, I hope the present arrangement will improve the situation. The distribution of yarn at present is based entirely on a census of looms taken in 1944. That census was not taken by officers of the Textile Department, but by the yarn merchants who were linked up with the weavers' associations as they liked and as such that census should not be considered as satisfactory. Many complaints have been made to the Textile authorities about this and the irregular distribution of yarn to the weavers and weaving factories. Yarn is supplied to many bogus looms while genuine active looms have not been supplied with yarn. I would suggest to the Government to intimate the District Collectors to arrange to take a fresh census of looms by the Inspecting Assistant Textile Commissioners themselves, as early as possible to avoid complaints in future.

" Sir, it is said that the price of handloom cloth is higher than the price of mill cloth, but it is cheaper than khadder. The price of handloom cloth may be brought down by reducing the price of the yarn by adequate supply of yarn to the weavers and factories and also by fixing the wages. The fixing of wages will no doubt minimize the strikes in factories.

[S. K. Shaik Rowther Sahib Bahadur] [11th March 1947]

“ Sir, the policy of the Government regarding elementary education should be improved. The basic salaries of teachers should be raised and arrangements for giving religious education in all Muslim elementary schools should be made. Muslims consider religious education to their children more important than secular education. It is in the early stages that the children should be given religious education and it is convenient to do so in Muslim elementary schools before they join the middle schools. In every Muslim elementary school Muslim religious teachers should be appointed to give religious instruction during the school hours. Such teachers should be paid the same basic pay as other teachers are paid.

“ Sir, coming to the policy of the distribution of food-grains, sugar and kerosene through the producer-cum-consumer co-operative societies, I find these societies are in no way better than the existing retail shops. These societies are getting a net profit of 30 to 35 per cent. The Government has restricted the dividend of the societies to $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In view of the above restriction the societies should lower the selling price of articles to the benefit of the purchasers. The purchasing people are large in number than the members of the societies the only people who will be benefited by the scheme.

“ The current year's budget provides Rs. 4 crores for village reconstruction schemes and Harijan uplift. I could not understand the policy of the Government of spending such a large amount for the Harijan uplift. Harijan uplift means the improvement of the economic condition of the Harijans who are poor. It is an anomaly that such poor people when they become Christians or Mussalmans are not entitled to the benefits from the Harijan uplift fund. These converts are also poor. It would have been better if all the poor people whether Harijans, Hindus or other converts are benefited by this fund.

“ With these remarks I conclude my speech.”

* SRI G. VENKATA REDDI :—“ Sir, I rise on this occasion just to invoke the sympathy of the Government by giving vent to the feelings of frustration and agony of the people of my place. I come from Anantapur district which is a permanent abode of famine. In a period of 10 years, I myself have seen two severe famines in my district and in one I happened to be in the District Board and I sought the co-operation of the District Collector and also the Government for starting test works and other things and got their aid. Sir, just last year the famine was very severe and at that time when the Hon. the Minister for Revenue toured our district, not only for the people but for the cattle also there was an acute famine for fodder. When we were travelling and when we found no green leaves on the avenue trees and when I told the Revenue Minister about the removal of green leaves for feeding cattle on account of the scarcity of fodder he was visibly moved. The famine was so severe last year. In those famines some lakhs of rupees are being spent by the Government by way of granting gratuitous relief, by the starting of relief works and test

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works, which are not on a permanent basis. These amounts are spent, Sir, by giving wages to the labourers for breaking stones on the roadside and for laying out famine roads. These works are incomplete and another famine has to come for the completion of these works, though of course lakhs and lakhs have been spent. I only pray that the Government would look into it and see that something is done which could give a permanent relief instead of giving these doles now and then when famine does occur. I ask why not a certain amount be set apart for these districts, especially for the Anantapur district, because of the frequent famines there. No other district wants the money and we cannot tide over the famine unless the Government comes to our aid. We cannot do anything. That is the situation of the district.

"Now, Sir, there are some rivers flowing in my district. People are seeing their waters flowing down and down with gaping mouths and tears in their eyes. Projects have been under contemplation from 1909. I am told that there are three projects on paper, (1) the Upper Pennar Project, (2) the Mid-Pennar Project and (3) the Pennar-Kumudavati Project. I understand that they are being investigated from the year 1909 and they are still under investigation. We do not know when the investigation will come to an end and when we could see the starting of the work. When the Hon. Minister for Public Works came to our district last year, we went to the spot along with the Hon. Minister and so many memorandums have been submitted. The spots have been inspected and the Engineering Department says that everything is ready and only the work remains to be started. But to our dismay we find nothing is provided in this year's budget for any project to be started in our district. I pray that the Government should at once come to our aid and not let the waters flow down while the people are looking at them with dismay. If we spend a few lakhs of rupees some thousands of acres can be brought under cultivation, and the districts need not be a dead-weight on other districts. Suppose a limb of the body is affected by a burn, unless it is properly treated the whole body will become septic, so also if these neglected districts are still further neglected, I am sure the other districts also will be affected. Sir, that is my sound of warning, though with agonies given to the Government. I just request them to extend their human sympathies for those people who are suffering there.

"Then, Sir, I want to say something about the Anantapur town. Just 25 years back the water works in the town was started and water was brought down to the town from a place two miles away. Then the population was 10,000. Now, Sir, the population of Anantapur town is nearly 30,000 and the same work is there and the Municipal Council is at a loss to know how to serve the needs of the growing population and the floating population as well. On these questions they have passed resolutions and submitted memorandum. When the Hon. Minister for Public Health came to Anantapur some memoradums were submitted to her and she answered that she would consider the question sympathetically. But now I do not find any move towards that direction and I request that this also might be taken note of by the Government.

[Sri G. Venkata Reddi]

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“Coming to the educational side of the question, Sir, our district has one arts college in Anantapur. It is called the Ceded Districts College, which we want to be changed into the Rayalaseema Arts College. Sir, it is intended for the Rayalaseema students but at the time of admission the Rayalaseema students have to go hither and thither in search of seats because of want of accommodation in the College. Admission to these students are denied and they have to go elsewhere. I have seen many youths in the Anantapur district now who for want of seats in the college are wasting their time idly sitting at home. In other colleges also they are not given seats, because there is a college in the Anantapur district intended for students from the Rayalaseema. On this question also we have made some representations to the Government requesting that some additional accommodation may be provided for the Rayalaseema students. I would request the Government, Sir, to take note of this and issue instructions—so that at least in next June when the question of admission comes up again—that the Rayalaseema students should be given the requisite number of seats.

“I shall finish, Sir, by requesting the Government to expedite the taking up of the projects that I have already referred, namely, the Ponnar Project, etc., and thus relieve the poor people of my district from their sufferings.”

12.45 p.m. * K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—“Sir, in the course of the speech which the Hon. the Premier delivered last year to a large audience gathered on the grounds of the American Mission College, Madura, after his inspection of the areas affected by the communal riots in Madura, Ramnad and Ekkakudi, he warned, of course with his characteristic sincerity, earnestness and firmness that people should not think that because they were Congressmen they could do anything they liked with impunity. It was true, he said, that the Ministry owed its existence to Congressmen, but on that account they should not think they would be allowed to do anything they liked and that when once Congressmen took charge of the administration of the Province, it was their duty to render justice to all sections of the people irrespective of caste or creed and that the Government had the necessary resources to carry out that objective. Well, Sir, those of us who were on the spot cannot forget what a soothing balm this statement of the Hon. the Premier was to the gaping wounds caused by the communal riots. Again, the Hon. Premier visited Malabar when the minds of the people were agitated very much over the communal situation and he tried to pacify the people and they are now keeping quiet expecting that the Hon. Premier would implement his assurance. Sir, on this occasion, I would be failing in my duty if I did not mention that it was on account of the sincerity and anxiety with which the Hon. Premier endeavoured to carry out the policy explained by him at Madura with regard to the preservation of peace and order in the Province, that he has been now able to mention in his budget speech with ‘some feeling of satisfaction and pride that this Province has been free from serious communal troubles of the kind that have occurred in Bengal and Bihar.’ Sir, that feeling of satisfaction

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is well-deserved and the pride legitimate and pardonable. I should also like to point out that in this great and sacred task of maintaining peace and order in the Province, the Muslims of the Province represented by the Muslim League Party in the Legislature have assured the Hon. the Premier and his Cabinet of our full and whole-hearted co-operation from the very beginning and the Muslim leaders have, as it has been admitted, endeavoured their utmost to implement this assurance not only in the matter of preservation of law and order but also in the solution of the food problem. At the same time, Sir, I cannot help pointing out that if the Hon. the Premier had been as vigilant and prompt as was necessary in the circumstances in the execution of the task he set before himself, he would have now been able to speak with greater satisfaction and pride about the conditions obtaining in the province. Unfortunately, for various reasons, he was not able to go to the fullest extent in the matter. True it is, whenever news of riots or information about impending clashes was given to him either by the members of the Muslim League or other persons, he hastened to take steps to prevent those communal riots and clashes. We must congratulate him on the expedition with which he did that part of the work. If he had shown the same expedition, vigour and speed in other directions also, our Province would have been saved from many other calamities which we have witnessed. Repeatedly I have pointed out on the floor of the House that the spirit of lawlessness was first let loose by certain Congressmen on various pleas and if action had been taken against them even at the start, it would have been nipped in the bud. Sir, certain nationalist papers of the Province had been sedulously taking advantage of certain incidents which took place in Bengal and Bihar and publishing exaggerated accounts of those happenings and writing editorials inciting one section of the population against another. Repeatedly we have made representations to the Hon. the Premier to take adequate steps to put an end to this kind of purveying of news and comments thereon. These acts on the one hand incited one section of the people against another and on the other hand infuriated the other section whose leaders and national organization were vilified. They incited the Hindus against the Muslims and the Muslims in their turn were infuriated against the Hindus. If the Hon. the Premier had taken action against these persons and journals, much life and property would have been saved. That is my sincere feeling. The Hon. the Premier could not say that he was not armed with the necessary powers and that he waited for the Public Safety Act."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" Does not the hon. member feel that he has said enough at the time of the Public Order Bill on this subject? "

* K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—" I am making only a passing reference. Sir, the ordinary law of the land was sufficient for the purpose and if he had used the ordinary law of the land for this purpose, he would have been able to speak to-day with greater satisfaction and greater pride about the condition of this Province.

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“ Sir, one has to wade through the voluminous pages of the budget estimates and search in vain for any evidence showing the same spirit of justice to all irrespective of caste or creed. The budget cannot claim to be a budget of a popular Government in the accepted connotation of the term. Shorn of all the normal items prepared in the Secretariat in the usual course, the budget is at best a party budget fit to be presented at a meeting of the political party to which the Members of the Cabinet belong, the main purpose being the implementation of the programme of the party at the expense of the public exchequer with a view to strengthening the position of the party in the Province. It is truly a party propaganda budget and this can be seen very well from the items included in it, such as the khadi scheme, and Harijan Uplift work which form the main planks of the Congress Constructive Programme. These are the only two main items in the budget which are different from the budgets of the previous years. Apart from these, I would say that the budget does not provide for the service of the common man and for raising his standard of life. There is no adequate provision for expansion of elementary education, no adequate provision for medical relief and public health, expansion of communications such as village roads and for water-supply in the villages. When I speak of communications, I am reminded of my personal experience about two months ago when I went to Kilakarai. Sir, from Ramnad to Kilakarai the distance is about 10½ miles. On account of the recent rains the *thoni* bridge there collapsed. The whole road was full of mud and mire. My bullock cart had to be diverted. The poor bullocks went into the mud hip-deep so much so I apprehended that if they attempted to come out their legs would be broken. I was there in the position of the Brahman in the story of the tiger and the golden bangle. (Laughter.) Fortunately, the bullocks were able to extricate themselves from the mire. But the position there is still the same. Kilakarai contains a population of more than 15,000 people and that is the only road by which it can be reached from outside. There is no other approach to that village. Even such an important village as Kilakarai is not provided with proper communications, and the people there are often isolated from the rest of the world on account of the total disregard of the District Board authorities in this matter. There are similarly ever so many villages in the districts where the communications are very bad and which are isolated on that account from the rest of the world. It is absolutely necessary that Government should provide for these necessities. They are not amenities, they are absolute necessities to enable the villagers to carry on their ordinary avocations in life. But we do not find adequate provision in the budget for these necessities, and the Hon. the Premier himself admits that he could not provide for them because he has to maintain the financial credit unimpaired. I am afraid, Sir, the financial credit is not kept unimpaired because the Government has been forced to draw large amounts from the Revenue Reserve Fund created during the Advisers' Regime and if they are going to follow the same procedure in successive years also, we will not be mistaken in saying that the Province will be heading towards

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bankruptcy. The words of the French Economist quoted by the
Hon. the Premier will apply most appropriately to the present
budget also.

" Having said so much, I should like to illustrate my point
that this budget is not a popular budget, but only a party propa-
ganda budget. First, let us take the khadi scheme. Much has
been said about this at the time of the last budget and also on this
occasion. The Hon. the President may say that I am repeating,
but our words have been throughout a cry in the wilderness and
they have had no effect. Because we feel so much about the
matter we have to repeat the arguments. It is a matter which
affects the vital interests of the Province. Sir, khadi, I have been
wearing for well-nigh two decades . . . "

MR. PRESIDENT :—" I would not mind the hon. member
adverting to the same subjects which have been dealt with by other
hon. members, but the House would certainly appreciate better
and additional arguments and not have the same arguments repeat-
ed. That is the point that I wish to bring to the notice of the
hon. member."

* K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—" Sir,
this khadi is the symbol of the political party to which the Ministry
belongs."

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM :—" Symbol of all."

* K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—" It is
a political symbol."

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM :—" No."

* K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—" Even
now, since the Ministry came into office, we find certain people in
the street suddenly taking to khaddar, because they think that by
wearing khaddar they would be considered to belong to the Con-
gress Party and that thereby they would be getting some privileges.
That is anyhow what the people outside feel. From the beginning,
khadi has been the political symbol of the Congress Party. This
is clear from the fact that no person can become a member of the
Congress organization who does not wear khadi. It is a funda-
mental requisite."

SRI T. PURUSHOTHAM :—" Is the hon. member now wear-
ing khadi? "

* K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—" I
am not now wearing khadi. For various and proper reasons, I had
to give up khadi which I had been wearing for more than 18
years."

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM :—" Hear, hear, I congratulate
you."

SRI T. PURUSHOTHAM :—" Did the hon. member abandon
the practice on political grounds?"

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* K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—“ On various grounds. If my hon. friend wants to know the reasons, let him come to me and I will explain. There are political grounds, economic grounds and other grounds !

“ Now Sir, any person wearing khadi is recognized as a Congressman by everyone else. We Muslims feel that we are different from Congressmen in our ideals and ideologies and we should not therefore be forced to wear khadi. The hon. member for Labour and Industries of the Government of India speaking at the fourth All-India Industrial Conference held at Cawnpore on the 7th instant said that ‘ dress was much more a matter of taste than a necessity ’. I would say, Sir, that dress is both a matter of taste and necessity. How then can you force your taste on us? It is too much to expect people to submit to compulsion in the matter of dress. This compulsion is proposed to be used not only in the matter of wearing khadi, but also at every stage from the production stage to the wearing stage. I pointed this out very elaborately last time with reference to the statement placed on the table of the House by the Hon. the Premier. Every family in the area
1 p.m. selected for the purpose has to provide one person for spinning khadi for certain periods every day. So also, the weavers in that locality must use the available khadi yarn because they will not be supplied with mill yarn. The people must wear only the khadi produced in that locality, because they will not be supplied with mill cloth. (Mr. President : ‘ The Hon. Leader of the Opposition, in dealing with prohibition, referred to Islamic Law.’) That is a fundamental matter, but dress is a matter of taste. (Mr. President : ‘ I just wanted to know whether the Islamic Law is different here.’) Prohibition is a fundamental matter which affects the character and conduct of man, but dress is not such a fundamental and vital matter affecting the very existence of man. We all know that drink is the father of many vices. So it is absolutely necessary to prohibit drink and to award the most severe punishments to those who indulge in it. The Hon. Premier cannot question the statement that large sections of the population of this Province are not wedded to the policy of khaddar. If a referendum is taken, an overwhelming majority of the people, even a large number of Congressmen will vote in favour of mill cloth as against khaddar for various reasons. (Hon. members : No, no.) I appeal to the Hon. Premier to take a referendum on this point. Then he will find that my statement is correct. Anyhow, we Muslims are not willing to wear khaddar. We are not willing to be dictated to in regard to dress. The Government cannot expect every man to be an abstemious ascetic in dress. After all, variety is the spice of life and every man likes to have change in dress. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar himself said that the scheme of standard cloth failed on account of the ‘ tiresome sameness ’ of the cloth. Will this Khadi scheme solve the scarcity of cloth immediately is the question which I want to put to the Hon. Premier. One or two mills will produce a larger quantity of yarn than what some lakhs of people will be able to produce by plying the charka. It is said that one month’s training in spinning is to be given to the people. Will

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this one month's training enable people to spin yarn of sufficient twist and durability? Surely, the yarn they spin will snap at every stage and it will not get into the loom. The amount invested will vanish into thin air

‘பாக்கிருதக், சாக்கிருதக் பணம் போன மாயம் என்ன?’

is a proverb in Tamil. It means: ‘the arecanuts are there, the bags are there. By what mystery then did the money vanish?’ It was my personal experience in 1921-22. We invested Rs. 10,000 on Khaddar scheme. It met the same fate, though the Inspector of the All-India Congress Committee who visited our Khaddar depot in Tinnevely Petai said that it was the only depot in the whole Province run on business lines. Spinning was never intended by Gandhiji himself to be a full-time occupation. Even during the Non-co-operation days, he said that spinning could only be a part-time occupation for the agriculturists during the off-season. Now you want to make it a full-time occupation for the people. Coming to the economic aspect, do you think that a poor man or even a middle class man can afford to purchase khaddar? Its cost is prohibitive as compared with mill cloth or even with handloom cloth? You cannot compel people to spin for two or three hours a day. The very same man may employ the time spent in spinning more profitably in his usual avocation. A man can be a financier, a banker or an industrialist, and he may utilize this time much more profitably for furthering his business. When such a man is compelled to spin, is it not an economic loss not only to him, but also to the whole Province? Therefore I say there is waste of human material in the Khadi scheme framed by the Government and waste of cotton at every stage because a great deal of waste will occur in the processes of sizing, spinning and weaving.

“Why should you fight shy of machinery? You want machinery in every other department of life. You want to ride in motor cars and fly in aeroplanes. The other day the Hon. the Premier said that he lived in aeroplane for a number of days together. After closely following the movement for the past thirty years, I cannot understand the philosophy of it unless it be as a political symbol. I cannot understand the economic value of khaddar. Machinery can easily solve the present cloth scarcity, whereas charka cannot solve it in two or three years or even in decades. You have been trying for the past two decades and more, but what is the quantity of khaddar available now with all your labour of love? This compulsion in the matter of dress cannot be taken lying down by the people of this Province. Large sections of the population are against it for economic and political reasons and on principle. It is not proper for this Government to force it down the unwilling throats of the Muslims and other sections, simply because they have got a numerical majority. To-day, they can pass any budget or any Bill into law because they have got a majority. That is not the way to establish democracy in the land. Numerical majority alone should not count. The Government must be able to convince the people, especially the minorities, that what they are doing is for the good of the people. The Hon. the Premier knows the famous dictum that justice should not only be done, but that

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the people should be made to feel that justice is being done. So also, he may feel that what he is doing is for the good of the country. But when large sections of population are against it, it should not be enforced. It should not be the policy of any democratic government to compel anybody in such a matter as dress. If Khadi policy is for the economic good of the country, allow it to develop on its own lines and also the mill and handloom industries in their own way. Let the survival of the fittest policy apply. The Hon. Premier says that the people want it. If villagers have taken to it willingly, why should there be any compulsion at all? If you are convinced that the people are for it, allow it to develop voluntarily. If khaddar survives, the mill industry and handloom industry will die a natural death. Why do you want to ban machinery? In Khadi exhibitions, we find improved models of charka being exhibited. That shows you want to improve the charka and not to stick to the antediluvian charka. Are you going to put a limit to the improvement? Improvement after improvement will be made and finally it will again result in machinery. Do you not now want to ignore the accumulated experience of centuries, and to start afresh from the old charka and in course of time to arrive at the textile machinery again? Is it wise, is it proper economy, and is it conducive to the economic well-being of the country?

“ In our province, there are thousands of weavers, and we all know that they get yarn to keep them engaged only for ten days in a month. If you erect mills, you will be able to give them enough yarn to keep them engaged throughout the month, instead of starving them and their looms for twenty days. From that point of view, it is absolutely necessary to start mills. Government need not start them, but they can allow freedom to the people who are willing to start them. Otherwise, we will have to depend on other provinces and become their slaves. While the other provinces are going ahead with mill expansion, the local Government want to cripple and wipe out even the existing mills by making them work two or three shifts. What is the virtue in Madras alone pursuing a different policy, I cannot understand.

“ Now I turn to the appointment of officers. Recently it was said that the Government wanted to appoint a number of Firka Cottage Industries Officers in the centres chosen for rural development. Khadi is not the only cottage industry which the Government want to develop.

1-15 p.m. “ There are ever so many cottage industries. Conditions have been prescribed for the appointment of the Firka Cottage Industries Officers. They say that applicants must be men interested in khadi. Khadi is only one of the industries which are to be developed. It is stated again that people must be interested in the work for which they are appointed, namely, khadi, i.e., in the case of the appointment of officers for rural development, they stipulate that all the officers must be interested in khadi. There are ever so many industries; khadi is one of the industries for rural development. Why should they insist that every officer who is appointed for this

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purpose must be interested in khadi? Is it not shutting out various sections of people? The Government know that there are large sections of the population who are opposed to khadi. Members belonging to these communities and sections are being prohibited or prevented from applying for these posts by the condition prescribing that the applicants should be interested in khadi.

"Then, Sir, I come to the question of Muslim education. I must add a few words in addition to these of other hon. Members. The first question that comes up is that of the medium of instruction. This question does not affect me personally, because my mother-tongue is Tamil and not Urdu. What is the position of people whose mother-tongue is Urdu? Again and again all the Muslim members of the Assembly and of this Council have reiterated that the mother-tongue of Muslims of Telugu districts is Urdu and not Telugu. Again and again members of the Treasury Benches insisted that it is not so; they say it is Telugu. They said so on the last occasion also. They think they know about it better than we ourselves. If they have any doubt, let them, Sir, appoint a fact-finding committee to find out what the mother-tongue of the Muslims living in Telugu areas is. We know it is Urdu. They say Telugu is the mother-tongue and not Urdu. Now, Sir, it is admitted that the best method of imparting instruction is through the medium of the mother-tongue. Even the Hon. Education Member of the Interim Government in Delhi has said that the mother-tongue should be adopted as the medium of instruction. So also the National Planning Committee. To speak of the regional language is all right for those whose mother-tongue happens to be one of the regional languages. What about those whose mother-tongue is not the regional language, like the Muslims of the Telugu districts, a large number of Muslims in the City of Madras and several other parts of the Province. Are they not entitled to instruction being imparted to them through their mother-tongue? If they are forced to acquire knowledge in another language, they suffer from serious handicaps at every stage. Will they be able to compete with students whose mother-tongue is Telugu? Will they be able to compete successfully? At every stage they will be placed under very serious handicaps. The reason is their mother-tongue is not Telugu. It is most unreasonable and unjust to force them to learn through a foreign tongue. The Government should give facilities to Urdu Muslims to study through their mother-tongue.

"Muslims have got their own needs in the matter of education. Successive Governments of this Province and Governments of other provinces have recognized the special needs and requirements of Muslims. Provision is therefore made to facilitate the education of Muslims who are very backward in the matter of education. For instance, there is the question of imparting religious instruction. Muslims have been backward in the matter of English education until special facilities were given to them. They began to take to modern education only after they were assured of certain facilities.

"I wish to say that we do not want any special concessions. I repeat, Sir, we do not claim any special concessions. So far as the Hindus are concerned, they have got all the facilities in the

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common schools; they are under no handicaps, because the text-books are to their taste and are such as to satisfy their needs. Most of their teachers belong to their community; they feel no alien atmosphere. When the Muslim boys go there, they find themselves in an alien atmosphere; the curricula do not satisfy their needs. Everything in the schools is intended generally for the majority population, namely, the Hindus. Muslims are placed under difficulties and handicaps there. The Hon. Premier may smile. But that is my personal experience. I myself have felt the handicaps; I have gone through elementary education, secondary education and collegiate education. Hindus do not require any special facilities at all. But the case of the Muslims is entirely different and it is the duty of the Government to help in the education of all sections of people. That is why we want special facilities for Muslims. Other communities have such facilities in their common schools. This leads to the necessity of establishing separate schools. A separate special officer should be appointed to look after the interests of Muslims. In this connexion I wish to refer to the convention regarding the appointment of a Muslim as Deputy Director of Public Instruction. I am told that a vacancy has arisen and that a Muslim may not now be appointed. I am told also that suggestions are being made for re-employing an Educational Officer who is going to retire shortly. I do not know why they should seek to re-employ the retiring Educational Officer when the policy of the Government is not to re-employ retired officials. Are you going to re-employ him? If so, why? I would urge that a Muslim officer should be appointed as Deputy Director of Public Instruction. I can say there are fully qualified officers among Muslims who can be appointed to that post and who can hold that post with dignity and efficiency.

“There is another complaint that I have been receiving from the villages. Urdu Munshis who are working in the schools are being dismissed from service because they do not know Hindi. Instructions have been issued, I understand to the effect that it is preferable to appoint Munshis who know both Hindi and Urdu. The result is Urdu Munshis are being sent away. Is it a proper course, Sir? Will people who have acquired a smattering of Hindi in the Hindi Prachar Sabha be able to teach Urdu to Muslim boys? Will they be able to discharge their duties in an efficient manner? It is most improper that instructions should be issued to the effect that Munshis ought to know both Hindi and Urdu.

“It is stated that there is no need for the establishment of special schools for Muslims. What are you doing with regard to other communities? Do you not have separate schools for Harijans?

“There is a delicate matter; I feel it delicate to mention it. When it is repeatedly stated that no special schools need be started for Muslims, I am forced to ask ‘what about the schools, high schools and colleges run by the Pachaiyappa’s Charities.’ Muslims and Christians are not admitted into those schools. Still you give grants to these institutions. I would refer you to the Grant-in-Aid

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Code. The first rule of that Code provides that the grants shall be withheld from institutions which refuse admission to any pupil merely on the ground of caste or community to which he belongs. Do the institutions run by Pachaiyappa's Charities comply with this first rule of the Grant-in-Aid Code? You are willing to grant lakhs of rupees to them. Rule 2 of the Code says that the Government can refuse or withdraw any grant at their entire discretion. It does not give them power to give grants by relaxing the first rule; it gives them power only to withdraw or refuse grants. I am not against the giving of grants to the Pachaiyappa's. My point is only this. Because you say that separate institutions should not be started for Muslims, I ask 'what do you say about the institutions run by Pachaiyappa's Charities.' I leave the point at that.

"Then I come to the old question of Food Committees. Even when the scheme for the constitution of these committees was first formulated we pointed out the grave danger lurking in it. We have been crying hoarse. We said that these Village, District and Taluk Food Committees would be replicas of Congress Committees, and that there would be no proper representation for Muslims and other communities in those committees. Experience has shown that what we said that is correct. I have written so many letters to the Hon. Premier complaining against the personnel of many of these committees. We have still to make representations in respect of several other committees. But since we have not been receiving replies from the Government, we are not making any complaints now. People have become fed up. They feel that there is no use of expressing their dissatisfaction with regard to these committees. I know personally that many Food Committees consist of Congressmen only. The other day my hon. Friend, Sir Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar, spoke about the interference of members of the Legislature in the administration of the country, especially with the work of local officials. The hon. Member, Mr. Venkataswami Nayudu said it was not correct. I can say, Sir, with personal knowledge that many members of the Legislature have been interfering with the work of the officials; some of the former have embarrassed the latter, not only with regard to these Village, Taluk or District Food Committees but also with regard to other matters. I know personally that the word of Congress members of the Legislature has more weight than those of members of other parties. I shall leave it at that. Now, Sir, I know that in very many districts not a single Muslim has been elected to the District Food Committees—for example, Tinnevely, Chittoor, South Arcot, etc. Will not Muslims be able to discharge their functions as members of District Food Committees with efficiency and satisfaction? Why is it that no Muslims have been elected to these committees?"

K. UPPI SAHIB BAHADUR :—"In Malabar there is only one Muslim member who is a Congressman."

* K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—
"Power is given to these committees to co-opt members. Sir, co-optation is for the purpose of giving representation to unrepresented interests. But even in the matter of co-option, we find that

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it is being used for strengthening the party which is already in a majority. If at all any Muslim is co-opted by our Congress friends, he will be a Nationalist Muslim and it is obvious he will not command the confidence of the Muslim population of the locality. Sir, what is the place of a Nationalist Muslim in the Muslim body politic? Can he say that he represents the views of the Muslim community? Can he say that he commands the confidence of the Muslim population of the locality? He will not, I venture to make that assertion. But still my Congress friends would get in only a Nationalist Muslim. That is the real position with regard to these food committees. Sir, we are receiving daily reports and complaints about the working of these food committees. Some-time ago, I happened to attend a meeting of a food committee. An ex-officio Muslim member of the committee happened to say something which was unpalatable to the majority of the members. At once the Collector disposed of the matter by taking the vote of the majority. That is how these village committees are working. I assure hon. Members that I am speaking of these committees out of my own experience. I have no prejudice against anybody; far be it from me. Democracy should be worked successfully and efficiently, especially when it is worked by persons who have been fighting for the freedom of the country. I do not want that democracy should become a fetish and that a mere numerical majority should rule the country, with callous disregard towards the rights and interests of the minorities."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" Does the hon. Member propose to take more time? "

* K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—" I shall finish soon, Sir."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" What time would the hon. Member take to finish his speech? "

* K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—" I might take at the most half an hour, Sir. I shall however try to finish sooner."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" If you will finish in another 15 minutes, we shall continue to sit till then. The Hon. Premier will reply in the afternoon."

* K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—" Sir, let me now refer to the Producer-cum-Consumer Co-operative Society. We call them PC³ societies, because it is difficult to repeat these words very often. How these PC societies have been working has been explained clearly by my hon. Friend Mr. Suryanarayana Rao. It is a misnomer to call them co-operative societies. It is prostitution of the word co-operation. That is what he said. It is true, because from its very constitution down to its actual working, there is no principle of co-operation involved. Co-operative societies are intended to be worked by members in close contact with each other and with mutual co-operation. But what do we find in these PC³ societies? There are thousands of members in it. How on earth is there going to be mutual contact

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and co-operation among their members? How can they be called co-operative societies? What are their ideals, I cannot understand. They are intended to replace the normal trade channels. I do not see any difference between private wholesale traders and these societies, except that in these co-operative societies there is larger scope for corruption, while in private trade there is not so much scope. If there are private merchants, they will be able to attend to their work more conscientiously than the directors of these P.C.C.C. societies. You do not ordinarily find a member who will be specially interested in the welfare of these societies. I know instances where there has been a great deal of swindling. The Tinnevely District Co-operative Stores appointed an agent in a village known as Melacheval for the purpose of procuring paddy. He procured a thousand bags of paddy, but it was only on paper. When a superior authority went to inspect the godown, not a single bag was there. These thousand bags of paddy had been sold in the black-market. Many of these P.C.C.C. societies are proceeding on communal lines. In very many of these co-operative societies also there is not even a single Muslim on the directorate and in some there are no Muslim shareholders at all. Even if there are some Muslim shareholders, they are not elected as directors and there are also cases where applications for shares from Muslim members have been rejected. (Interruption.) I can quote instances. The files of the Government may be looked into, if what I say is doubted. (A voice: 'According to rules no application for shares should be rejected.'). (Interruption.) That may be so on paper, but in actual practice many applications for shares have been rejected."

THE HON. SRI K. BHASHYAM :—" If they want to become directors or managing directors, then that is a different matter; but if they want to become shareholders, nobody can refuse."

* K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—" Sir, I ask why should they be disallowed from becoming directors? All these co-operative societies are there to associate the public in the solution of the food problem and if a certain section of the population is not given its due representation on the directorate, will they be able to function properly? Will they be able to do their duties to the public properly? Unless you see that proper representation is given to all the sections of the population on the directorate of the society, the whole purpose of the movement will be defeated. It will become only a communal body. I know also there are societies against whom, both the Hindus and Muslims of the place, have been writing complaint after complaint to the Government. Both of them do not want these societies, but still the Government insist that food-grains should be distributed only through these societies. Representations have been made to the Government by local Congress Committee as well as by the Primary Muslim League of the locality that these co-operative societies are not working efficiently, that there is corruption rampant and that they should not be allowed to continue. But still the Government will not look into them. How can you expect these societies to work, when people do not want them?

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“ Well, Sir, by starting these P.C.C.C. societies and village committees this Government has completely shut out the ordinary trade channels. Sir, you must know that trade and commerce are the backbone of any country. A country can prosper only if its trade and commerce flourish. If you shut out trade and commerce completely, how will the country prosper? I cannot say that there are no black legs among these traders. As in the case of all other departments of life, there are black-marketeers among merchants also. The only proper course would be to take action against such of them as are indulging in anti-social activities. Sir, I belong to a religion which prohibits cornering of the market. It is *haram*, Sir. Taking advantage of another man's need is also prohibited. But still trade is one of the professions recommended to Muslims by their faith. There is no use of banning trade and commerce. That means you are breaking the backbone of the Province. You must allow trade to progress. If you want to shut out trade, then you must abolish private property altogether. If there is no room for private enterprise, how can the country progress economically? By your present policy of appointing these village committees and by making provision for distribution of food-grains; kerosene, sugar, etc., through these co-operative societies and village committees, thousands of dealers and traders are thrown out of employment. Should you not find out alternative employment for these people? Are all those merchants so bad as to be wiped out of existence. That is a matter which should be considered by the Government.

“ Another question is with regard to separate electorates. As regards elections to the local boards and municipalities, the only method of giving proper representation to Muslims in these local bodies is through separate electorates. In the two Bills which have been placed before the other House, you have conceded one point, namely, that Muslim can be properly represented only by Muslims. Then the next thing that you must adopt automatically is that those representatives should be elected only by Muslims. A person can be a proper and true representative of Muslims only when he is elected by those whom he is asked to represent, and whose views he is asked to represent and whose needs he is asked to espouse. He cannot be elected by some other persons and be told that he is the real representative of the Muslims. When once you concede that seats should be reserved for Muslims in the local bodies, you must also concede the other thing automatically, namely, that those representatives of the Muslims should be elected only by Muslims. That is a thing that must follow as a matter of course, but you are not prepared to do that. Why? Unless Muslim representatives are elected by Muslims themselves, they are not going to be true representatives of Muslims and Muslims will not accept that position at any cost. I may say, Sir, in this connexion that the other minority communities in this Province are also one with me in this matter. The other day my hon. Friend Mr. K. O. Anthony complained that the Christian community was not given the right to elect its representative Rev. Jerome D'Souza to the Constituent Assembly. So also my hon. Friend Mr. H. M. Jagannatham complained that the representatives of the scheduled caste in the

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legislature should be elected by the community and that the Poona Pact had done the greatest injustice to his community in that two elections have been made compulsory for his community. Therefore, Sir, the only just, proper and natural course for the Government to adopt, with regard to the elections to these local bodies is to allow Muslims to elect their own representatives. I am sorry that the Government are not willing to adopt that course. I can tell them once again that the Muslim community cannot accept the position that is forced on them, as any Muslim who will be elected through these joint electorates for these reserved seats will be only men of straw, to use the words of the late Moulana Muhammad Ali and not the true representative of the Muslims.

"Well, Sir, there is another small matter that I should like to bring to the notice of the Government. It seems that last year certain agriculturists were given pumps on hire at Rs. 10 per month for the purpose of sinking wells. Time has been extended for the sinking of wells from time to time. Recently notices have been issued to those people to the effect that they would be charged Rs. 75 per month instead of Rs. 10. Representations seem to have been made to the Agricultural department and then the department seems to have said that the hire would be reduced to Rs. 20 with retrospective effect from January. Is it possible for these poor ryots to pay Rs. 20 per month for these pumps? They have now started cultivation thinking that they will have to pay only Rs. 10 per month as hire for the pumping sets. Besides they have to pay for the driver, oil, etc. That is a matter which I would request the Hon. Minister for Agriculture to consider."

MR. PRESIDENT :—"I think we will now rise. The House stands adjourned to meet at 2-45 in the afternoon to hear the Prime Minister's reply."

(After lunch—2-45 p.m.)

* SRI P. R. K. SARMA :—"Mr. President, Sir, I am thankful to you for giving me an opportunity to make a few observations which I am anxious to make though we are now almost at the end of our discussions. I am reluctant to speak because the Hon. Ministers are not here and I think they are preoccupied with the ministerial developments. I was anxious not to embarrass them at all. That was the main reason for my not participating in the discussions till now; but, Sir, I would be failing in my duty if I did not take this opportunity to emphasize the few points that I would very much like to stress.

"Sir, labour disputes have been occurring all over the province—why, all over the country. They are not special to India; we have been hearing of labour unrest all over the world. We are having strikes even in England; we have been witnessing the huge transport strike and various other strikes even in the United Kingdom. Strikes are nothing special or particular to the Indian situation. As I have again and again pointed out, the workers were under serious restraints during the war; they had

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no right to strike; and under the favourable circumstances offered by the formation of the National Government, the workers have organized themselves into unions and are trying to obtain redress of their elementary grievances. These strikes and struggles cannot be entirely attributed to communist activities. Most of these strikes and struggles are for recognition of their elementary rights. I especially wish to emphasize that all strikes cannot be attributed to communist activities. The Government have been doing their best to settle trade disputes as they arose; but I must say with a feeling of pain and sorrow that the Ministry has been long in office and yet they have not attempted to establish a permanent court of industrial justice, a permanent machinery for the settlement of disputes as they arise. Sir, the Labour Minister has been promising us legislation; the Provincial Government have been looking up to the Central Government and I do not know what the Central Government have been doing. But one thing is certain; the workers have been suffering on account of the absence of a permanent standing machinery for the settlement of disputes. *Ad hoc* courts of enquiry have been appointed again and again, but if the results of these courts of enquiry are examined, it will be found that they have not resulted in any substantial good to the workers concerned. Industrial unrest is increasing in the province. The Labour department is not sufficiently equipped. The one Labour Commissioner goes from one corner of the country to the other as strikes break out. The Labour department is not sufficiently equipped. There are not sufficient number of conciliation officers, and I must emphasize, proper type of conciliation officers. It used to be said that if a man was unfit for any other department, he used to be sent up to the Education department—I do not mean any reflection on the distinguished members of that profession; but nowadays, if a man is a failure in any other department, he is sent to the Labour department as a conciliation officer. If disputes are prolonged and if strikes are not settled in time and if strikes have at all broken out, it is due to the absence of an efficient staff of conciliation officers. Again and again, Sir, it has been pointed out that the factory inspection staff is not sufficient; it is insufficient. There is not yet a Chief Inspector of Factories in this province. The first requirement of the Factory Act is the presence of a Chief Inspector of Factories; the Labour Commissioner in our province is a jack-of-all-trades. He is the Commissioner for Labour, he is the Chief Inspector of Factories and he is in charge probably of as many departments as the Hon. Minister for Labour and Industries. I wish to emphasize, without meaning any reflection in the least on the Hon. Minister for Industries,—we have been life-long friends—that he has been saddled with too many departments, with the result that industrial peace in the province has terribly suffered. The important thing is: if industrial peace should be developed and preserved and industries are to grow and disputes are to be settled, it is necessary that the Labour Minister should also be a full-time Labour Minister, and he should not be saddled with too many departments.

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I know, Sir, the Hon. Mr. Giri has done his very best, and by his holding so many portfolios, the Labour department has not suffered; but the Labour department could have been better administered, labour laws could have been devised, industrial disputes could have been more promptly settled and better work could have certainly been done in the Labour department, if the Labour Minister had not been saddled with so many other departments."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" Do you mean to say that you could have kept him more busy? I think you are unfair to the Labour Minister."

* SRI P. R. K. SARMA :—" In the Budget discussions, Sir, we have emphasized the necessity for a *Labour Gazette* to be published by our Labour department. I hope we will realize this desire at least during the current year. I find there is no provision made for that in the Budget this year.

" Then, Sir, it has been pointed out by every speaker that the Salaries Sub-Committee of the Cabinet has not tackled the problem as it ought to have been tackled, with the result that the discontent among the Government employees has grown instead of being mitigated. As I have said, the Government have tried to do their very best; the time at their disposal has been very brief, but their recommendations ought not to be final. The Government are bound to set an example to other employers; the Government should solve, as early as possible if not immediately, the problem of providing a basic living-wage for their employees, both in the industrial undertakings and in the ministerial establishments.

" Then, Sir, special legislation has now been devised for dealing with labour unrest and strikes. It is therefore necessary that the rights of labour should be secured, that a labour code should be made by the Government for providing workers with their elementary rights. Wage-fixing machinery should be established, as most of the labour disputes are regarding wages. It is necessary that the Labour department should be strengthened; labour officers cannot be manufactured; men with aptitude for conciliation work should be specially trained and appointed as conciliation officers and not Deputy Collectors or Revenue Inspectors who, we know, have been accustomed to deal with survey stones and not with human beings. I do not mean any reflection on those distinguished persons who have occupied the office of the Commissioner of Labour; but the fact is : I have found it to my cost that in many cases they have not been able to deal with trade disputes with that amount of sympathy which could have been exercised by one who had an aptitude for the department and who had been trained for it.

" Then, Sir, labour unions have to conduct in the near future many struggles, as the attitude of the employers has not undergone any desirable transformation. The Government have to take a more sympathetic attitude towards labour problems and the struggles of the workers.

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"I do not wish to take up more of the time of the House, Sir. But I wish to emphasize that the Labour department should be strengthened and made more efficient in the interests of industrial peace and in the interests of both the employers and the employees. The problems of the Labour department should not be dealt with lightly, but they have to be dealt with as seriously as the problems of any other department.

"I thank you, Sir, for the opportunity given to me."

MR. PRESIDENT :—"The Hon. the Premier."

3 p.m. * K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—"I want to say a few words, Sir, before the Hon. the Premier gives his reply."

MR. PRESIDENT :—"If the Hon. the Premier agrees to the arrangement, I have no objection."

* THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM :—"Yes, Sir."

* K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—"I am much obliged to the Hon. the President and the Hon. the Premier for giving me an opportunity again.

"In speaking about village committees, Sir, I said that in many of the villages there is no proper representation for the Muslims in those committees. Even in cases where members have been appointed by the Revenue officials in consultation with the local Muslim and Hindu M.L.As. and M.L.Cs., very often, you find that the Parliamentary Secretary or some other authority interferes and thereby creates much confusion and dissatisfaction. I would mention as an instance the case of Kadayannallur in Tinnevely district. There, Sir, a village committee was formed with four Muslim members and four Hindu members after due consultation with the local Muslim and Hindu members of the Legislature. A Muslim was elected as President on the motion of the Secretary of the Town Congress Committee who happened to be a Hindu. But suddenly, Sir, the Parliamentary Secretary goes there and without consulting the local M.L.As. or even the Revenue authorities, issues an edict upsetting the whole constitution of the Committee and replaces two Muslim members by one Hindu member and one nationalist Muslim with the result that the Committee could not function. Sir, the Muslim President was also elected to the taluk committee but the Firka Supply Officer convenes a meeting of the village committee for electing its President and a representative to the taluk committee. Very often, the people of the village write to the Government about such affairs, but with what results? They find that it is no use writing to the Government because the Government do not move in the matter. Sir, we have received so many complaints of this kind. It is better that such matters are settled as and when complaints are received.

"Now, Sir, as the Hon. the Minister for Additional Food is here

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MR. PRESIDENT :—“ Is it Hon. Minister for Additional Food? ”

* K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—“ I mean, Sir, the Hon. the Additional Minister for Food. It may be also as I said Sir, Minister for Additional Food. So many things happen in the Cabinet, Sir, that a Minister for Additional Food will also be possible. Sir, in these days of scarcity of food, in these days of mal-nutrition and under-nutrition, it would be better if we have got a Minister for Additional Food. I would say that it is even highly necessary.

“ Sir, I was referring to the village committee in the Tinnevely district. Only after three or four days of hard work with the Minister in charge of the department, the original position was restored but there are ever so many complaints against so many other village committees. Sir, my hon. friend from Palghat tells me that out of the 131 village committees, there, only one village committee has a Muslim President and no other committee has a Muslim as its President. Even that President was asked not to function by an edict issued by the Deputy Tahsildar. Such being the case, it is no wonder that the Muslims should feel aggrieved over the situation. In these committees, Sir, they feel that they have lost all confidence. Sir, I may quote many other instances in which Muslims have not been represented either in the village committees or in the co-operative societies, with the result that their interests suffer considerably. As the matter is one concerning food, we are very much interested in the proper constitution of these village committees and co-operative stores and we are anxious to see that Muslims are given due and proper representation on those committees and stores so that their interests may not suffer.

“ Sir, these are days of communalism. We have to face facts as they are. There is no use branding us as communalists. We must have proper and adequate representation of all communities in all these bodies, so that the interests of these communities may be looked after properly and they may receive proper and adequate quantity of foodstuffs and other things. I have got a telegram from one village today stating that kerosine oil has not been supplied to the Muslims alone in the village for the past two months. Sir, I am referring to the mentality that has been generated during the past few months. There is no use of refusing to recognize facts. We must recognize facts and try to remedy the situation. But the actual fact is that instead of facing the situation and improving the position, the difficulties are being accentuated. So, Sir, I appeal to the Government to go into the whole question of the formation of these committees and to rectify the defects. We are sorry to find in actual practice that things are not being done in the proper manner. I have gone about in my own district and urged on the Revenue Divisional Officers and Tahsildars to give proper representation to the Muslims on the village committees. Many taluk committees have been formed but there is no

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Muslim elected to many of those bodies. Do you mean to say that there are no Muslims qualified to be members of those committees? Sir, you have got a numerical majority and so, you are electing only Hindus to these bodies. I ask, Sir, is it not communalism? You charge us with communalism. I say, Sir, we Muslims are internationalists by temperament and culture and cannot afford to be narrow communalists. But our rights, religious and political, should be safeguarded. Our people should not suffer. We should not be dominated over by other peoples. We want all people to receive justice. The minorities should not be deprived of their legitimate rights because they are numerically weak. We only want that all people should be treated justly.

" Sir, I want to say one word about foreign scholarships, now that the Hon. Minister for Education is here. Recently, Sir, the Government issued a communiqué calling for applications from persons desiring to go to foreign countries for higher studies. It is rumoured, Sir, that these persons for scholarships are to be selected not by the Committee appointed for the purpose but by the Government. I do not know how far it is correct. Secondly, Sir, it is said that persons who are now selected for being deputed to foreign countries for higher studies are to be guaranteed appointments after they return. If that is so, I would like to know whether in the matter of selection of these candidates, the communal Government Order is being applied. I would also like to know whether the Government propose to send all applications to the Government of India or to send only the applications of persons selected. I would like to know whether in selecting the scholars, the communal Government Order will be applied. This is an important point about which I would like to have information from the Hon. Minister concerned. In matters like these, Sir, and also in matters pertaining to ration shops, village committees and other things, so many representations have been made to the Government. I do not know whether they have considered all these representations made to them. When we go to the Minister concerned, he says sometimes that he does not know that representations have been made on the particular subject. Sir, repeated representations have been made and I would request the Hon. the Ministers concerned to consider them in time and deal with them properly. The Hon. Ministers may have the best of intentions and may deal with the representations later but I say, Sir, that justice delayed is justice denied. Sir, Government should render justice in time. If they delay in rendering justice, people lose confidence in them. So, they must act in time and with promptness. Otherwise, the desired effect will not be produced.

" Sir, we have been crying hoarse in both the Houses of the Legislature but with what effect? Last time, we gave our suggestions with regard to the Budget. This morning I tried to find out whether any suggestions of mine have been accepted. I find, Sir, that my suggestion has been accepted fully only with regard to one matter and partially with regard to another matter. But,

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generally, Sir, most of the suggestions that come from this side of the House have been a cry in the wilderness. I am glad to find, Sir, that the Government have decided to abolish betting on horse races in the race course - enclosures at Madras and Ootacamund. Last time, Sir, I am really glad that Government have published a Bill for the purpose of abolishing betting on horse races in the race courses. I wish they pass the Bill into law as early as possible. But, Sir, I have been hearing so many rumours about it."

SRI C. N. MUTHURANGA MUDALIYAR :—" Do not believe it."

* K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—" I understand, Sir, that pressure from high quarters is being brought to bear on members of the Government to withdraw the Bill. I am also told that high temptation is also being offered—not to individual Ministers, but to certain public causes. I appeal to the hon. members not to succumb to this pressure but to insist on abolishing this betting on horses and thereby save many families from ruination. So many persons have been coming to me daily and asking me as to what has happened of the proposal of the Government to abolish betting on horses."

THE HON. SRI K. BHASHYAM :—" I understand that a Bill has been published already."

K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—" So many Bills are being published, but how are we to be sure that they would be passed into law in due course, for example, a Bill about the salary of our Hon. President was published but it was not introduced at all. Mere publication does not ensure that the Bill will be passed into law. We are in days of uncertainty."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" There is nothing uncertain about your attitude."

* K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—" I am certain about everything I say, Sir. My feet are on *terra firma* and my contentions are based on strong facts. Now, as I said, our cry has been in the wilderness except for the fact that the Government have brought in measures regarding prohibition and betting on horses. Now, Sir, the Hon. the Prime Minister seems to be completely obsessed with the infallibility of the pet schemes of the Congress. This obsession, I am sorry to say, has developed into fanaticism. But, Sir, I am anxious to warn obsession almost always warps the judgment and clouds the imagination. I would appeal to the Hon. the Prime Minister not to have this obsession, but to try to give due consideration to the suggestions that the members on this side of the House make.

" Sir, the Hon. the Premier has referred to the Constituent Assembly in his opening speech on the Budget. He feels that the framing of a constitution for India by the Constituent Assembly may be completed in the course of the year 1948. Well, Sir, I am not aware of any Constituent Assembly adumbrated by the Cabinet Mission's statement functioning at all."

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MR. PRESIDENT :—" You are certain about it."

* K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—" I am certain about it; I am also certain that the Constituent Assembly does not function according to the plan adumbrated by the Cabinet Mission. Only one part of the Constituent Assembly is functioning and that is the Congress Constituent Assembly or the Hindu Constituent Assembly. So far as the Muslims are concerned, it is not functioning and the British Cabinet has made it plain that they will not accept the constitution framed by any Assembly which is not a representative body as formulated by the Cabinet Mission. But, now, Sir, there is a silver lining in this dark cloud. Yesterday or day before, the Congress Working Committee has resolved that if necessary they would be willing to divide the Punjab."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" Are you agreeable to that?"
(Laughter).

3-15 P.M. * K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—" Well, Sir, India, according to the theory of the Congress, is an indivisible whole, and is a single unit geographically and culturally. Now, Sir, I am glad that on principle the Congress has descended from that high position; from the clouds it has descended to the mundane world and it has conceded the principle that not only can India be divided, but that the provinces also can be divided. I call that 'silver lining' not because I am agreeable to the division of provinces, but because they have agreed on principle that India is not one indivisible unit but that it can be divided; if provinces can be divided, India can be divided and thus they have accepted the principle of Pakistan. When once that is accepted on principle, the details can be worked out easily. I hope the Congress will now face facts and give due regard to the progress, advancement, freedom and independence of the various sections of the population of this country and that they will have the practical sense to understand the realities of the situation and come to grips with the problem and solve it in the only manner in which it is capable of being solved and not by insisting on the old slogans like one united India and persisting that dividing India will be cutting the cow. All these things have gone because they have agreed to the principle of Pakistan. I hope, very soon, they will be able to solve the problem in a manner acceptable to all parties."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" Not in this Budget at any rate."

* K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—" Because that is referred to in the Budget speech of the Hon. the Prime Minister I have to refer to that, Sir."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" I think the hon. member will close his speech."

* K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—" The Hon. the President put me the question whether I am agreeable to division. Sir, if the Punjab can be divided, there are also so many parts in every province, the division of which also will have to be

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MR. PRESIDENT :—" The hon. member should not make it such a close secret between himself and Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar."

* K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—" There is no such thing, Sir. The hon. Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar said that I have been given opportunity to speak twice and I was telling him that this was only a stop-gap arrangement."

SRI C. N. MUTHURANGA MUDALIYAR :—" It is good the Hon. the Leader of the Muslim League should take advice from a Hindu Vice-Chancellor."

* K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—" I am sorry, Sir, though we have been living here for centuries, our Hindu friends have not understood us. The hon. member must have known that so far as the Muslim is concerned, he is prepared to be benefited by the knowledge of others whoever they may be. There is a saying of the Holy Prophet to the effect that ' if a truth is written even on a wall, Muslims should accept it, without ignoring it on the ground that the wall which is an inanimate object cannot teach man anything.' Another saying of the Holy Prophet says that knowledge is the lost camel of the Muslim and that he should take it wherever he finds it. It should not therefore cause any surprise in the mind of my hon. friend Mr. Muthuranga Mudaliyar if I accept a suggestion from my hon. friend, Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar. I am sorry that even after long association, we have not been able to understand each other. Sir, I appeal again to the Hon. the Premier that though he has got a numerical majority, he should not ignore the rights of minorities and though, as I said, he is obsessed with the pet schemes of the Congress party, he must pay due consideration to the firm convictions and views of the minorities and try to find whether their views and convictions cannot be given effect to wherever possible. After all, in a democracy, the rights of minorities must be preserved and maintained and further it is the minorities who can say what their rights are. I therefore appeal to him that he should not be carried away with the strength of his party, but must give due consideration to our rights and privileges and safeguard them; otherwise we will have to . . ."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" Let us not think of ' otherwise ' ; it is better we do not think of it now." (Laughter.)

* K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—" I say Sir, that is the only way in which a true foundation can be laid for the freedom and independence of this vast sub-continent and I hope the Hon. the Premier will lead the way in that respect."

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* THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM :—“ Sir, I must first of all thank all the hon. members who have debated the various points of this Budget at great length for four days. There are very able gentlemen here who deal with questions dispassionately, doing their best to uphold the stand they take up. Formidable opposition had been made by one member after another, each in his own way, pointing out how we on this side have been going on a wrong road, ignoring the interests of various classes, persons and estates. Therefore, it is not quite a simple matter for us to make these hon. Leaders understand that we are not obsessed with pet ideas. We are not endeavouring to carry out any of our pet schemes because of our superstitions or because of our orthodoxy in regard to these matters. None of us working here on this side is orthodox and none is endeavouring to cling to any old or ancient idea because of the superstition that is in us. I must thank the Leader of the Opposition and of the Muslim League and all other members for the co-operation which they have been giving to the Government in many matters. Although we are obliged to differ on certain subjects, as and when pointed out by the hon. Mr. Ahamed Ibrahim, on the question of law and order which has been one of the most important items of the political programme of every Government and which has been disturbing the other parts of the country, here they have been giving every support along with all other people. And, it is not the leaders alone that have been responsible for maintaining law and order in this big province of ours, it is also the people generally, the public, both men and women, young and old, that have realized the situation and have been co-operating with us by forming what are called ‘peace committees’ of different communities and taking the whole thing on hand and going ahead to establish peace and order without waiting for the Police force or the military to arrive for any of these things. I must thank the public generally with regard to this matter. It is Providence that has been helping us in regard to this important situation.

“ Coming now to the political situation about which my hon. friend, Ibrahim Sahib, has spoken, he says that because the division of the Punjab is accepted by the Congress High Command, the principle of Pakistan has been recognized now. I do not know, Sir, anything in detail about the resolution which the Congress High Command has adopted. Division of provinces, or division of districts, has been going on as usual with us all over India. For instance, just now there has been the question of the division of the Vizagapatam district into two parts, the northern part and southern part. If Punjab is to be divided into two parts for the sake of administrative convenience or any other convenience, nothing follows from that. So far as Pakistan is concerned, we need not enter into a controversy over these matters. This is a very unfortunate country where such questions arose and they have been causing great troubles all these years—few years. This word ‘Pakistan’ was not heard of until the resolution was adopted by the Muslim League in Lahore in 1940. (K. T. M. Ahamed Ibrahim Sahib Bahadur : ‘But the principle was there.’) What the Muslim

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leaders in the rank and file and what the Hindu leaders in the rank and file and the leaders of all other communities should have been doing in this country is they should have been working for the unity of all and for carrying on the work peacefully in every field, but that has been lost sight of and we have been going on in a wrong way, counting upon various small details over which we have been pressing matters too far. Take for instance the education question, Sir. Education is not a matter which can be divided piecemeal into various compartments. I am not one who would say that the Muslim leaders, the Muslim population should not demand for teaching in Urdu. As matters stand, in all the colleges, in all the schools, pandits there are to teach Sanskrit, pandits there are to teach Telugu and pandits there are to teach Tamil, Malayalam and similarly pandits there are in almost all universities and colleges and schools teaching Urdu and so on. The word 'regional' that had been used was understood in a wrong way and agitation had developed and had been disturbing to men like Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. It is not a fresh thing. It has been going on here for a long time. The mother-tongue has been adopted in every college, in every University and in every school and those who wanted their mother-tongue, facilities have been provided to enable them to learn Urdu, Sanskrit or whatever it is. If we had stopped there, there would be no trouble. If we go beyond that and try to divide the country in this way or that we find that real difficulties arise but such difficulties have not arisen, Sir, here. I congratulate hon. members of this House for this. Leaving aside the question of education, in other matters, where is the difference, Sir, except in the matter of religion? All are human beings, all are trying to settle themselves in their profession and earn their livelihood and to manage their family affairs. In public services also they are trying to get their proper place and settle down. Where is the difference between any two communities here except the fact that they have been able to give different names for the communities and then went on creating more differences? All are one, and that is what Islam teaches. That is what Christianity teaches, and Hinduism teaches. I am not talking of any orthodox Hindu persons who talk of so many things. You can go into the origin of the matter. You will find in commentaries of Sankara and Bhagavad Gita. When he was asked to define what is God he defined it as that supreme being that pervades the whole universe, that makes the whole universe run and that who created the universe. That is the one idea that has been taught by Jesus Christ and which the Prophet also taught. It is the misfortune of this country that all these differences had arisen. I have been telling the hon. members that there should be no difference on every side, in colleges and in schools. I for one would advocate, if possible, teaching of the four or five important religions from the childhood to every student, so that they will be able to understand really the truth of the whole thing; go to the bottom of the whole thing, and understand that it is all one business. It is all stupid that these people are quarrelling like this. That is the position, Sir. It has been my desire that, in

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my lifetime at least a beginning should be made with regard to this kind of education among us. It is in that way that we can become one people again and we can work together. I say, Sir, in spite of the troubles we have been facing in regard to these communal matters, I see signs of improvement.

" Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar in his very eloquent address said something about the Coalition Ministries. I for one without waiting for any instruction from the High Command or anybody, has been thinking on those lines even during the last eleven months and I tried to know something of the mind of the hon. members of the Opposition. There was no development both on the side of the Congress and on the side of the Muslim League and unless the High Command sanctions nothing can be done here. That is the rule which the Muslim League has developed. Sir, I know this Muslim League since the time when Mohammed Ali and Shaukat Ali were living. They were the two friends who worked as right hand and left hand of Gandhi when he started his new movement. This charka was referred to by Ahmed Ibrahim after wearing the cloth for 18 years. In speaking of charka in a derisive manner, they make a mistake. It is not a charka of a Hindu, it is not a charka of any other special caste or community. It is the charka upon which that wheel was fixed up by Mohammed Ali and Shaukat Ali along with Gandhi and all others. It is a common thing. It is a thing that gives cloth to all people and not to any particular community. 'To-day that charka is yours. The spinning wheel on the charka is yours. It is not ours.' How could it be said like that when it was done jointly by the representatives of the two communities? "

K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—" But they left the Congress, Sir."

* THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM :—" So many are dividing themselves from their fathers and mothers. That has been the tragedy of this country. All the communities belong to one family. They have divided themselves. For the sake of that there is no need at all for this kind of talk at this stage and what is it that one can say with regard to Hindu and Muslim relations. They are not small relations which are existing superficially only. We have become blind to realities, how the Muslim population, the Muslim traders and others generally are getting on with their work, so far as other communities are concerned. Take, for instance, district by district. From that go to the overseas countries and see how the Muslim traders, the merchant princes, are getting on with regard to all their work. I covered almost all the overseas countries and have made a study in regard to all these matters. Therefore, it is a wrong notion to think that the Muslims must get separated for everything. They must not think that things will go wrong unless there is separate electorate. We must remove that wrong notion. We must work together in such a manner that no Muslim would feel diffident with regard to this matter.

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"Take, for instance, these Food Committees. Sir, in this Province of ours when we started these we were ignorant people. As Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar put it, 'you had been spending all your time, 25 or 26 years, in jail. You cannot be expected to know all these things.' Although we have spent much time in jails we were old enough to understand and study from the jails all about our country and about ourselves. Recently, Sir, with regard to these Food Committees stress was laid on the Directorate and other things. How wrong is the impression which the leaders of the League have been carrying on in their minds? You can see the real thing if you look into the facts as they are. Regarding Malabar, in the three taluks of Ernad, Kurumbranad and Ponnani where there was a fair number of Muslim inhabitants, the number of directors in each was as follows:—

Name of the taluk.	Total number of directors.	Total number of Muslim directors.
Ernad taluk	49	21
Kurumbranad taluk ..	98	36
Ponnani taluk	49	15

Government redressed whatever grievances the members of the Muslim community had in the beginning. The members of the Muslim community were themselves too keenly interested in running these societies and in the case of Tirur after a keen contest in which the Muslims took a lively interest the society had now a Muslim directorate. In two places, Sir, where there was said to have been a miscarriage of justice, fresh elections were ordered and then the Muslim League members were returned successfully and telegrams were received here."

K. UPPI SAHIB BAHADUR :—"On a point of personal explanation, Sir, with what difficulty and with what struggle these members came in? On account of this struggle, the Premier had to run up to Malabar."

* THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM :—"That was long ago. In the beginning, when there were complaints, I had promised that I would go there to settle matters and matters were settled. I have quoted this to show how these societies had been managed by Muslim directors. Still many more things have to be rectified by us as we proceed.

"Let me come to our pet schemes, the obsessions as was referred to by the members on the other side of the House so frequently. So far as Prohibition is concerned, there is little disagreement and you wanted us to have it introduced in all the districts. Many friends in the Congress Legislature Party took that view and they gave us so much trouble that after a considerable amount of discussion, we have come to some settlement as we have indicated in the speech. Prohibition has been introduced not because we have the backing of the Police or not because we have the support of the Abkari department; it is not because of such things that we undertook such a task and it is not on account of that that we hoped to succeed. A note of warning was given by my hon. friend Mr. Uppi Sahib, saying that this scheme failed in other countries and he asked 'if they failed in other countries, how can you expect to

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succeed here? ' I know Pussy Foot Johnson lost his eyes in his zeal and enthusiasm for Prohibition in America. I say that countries in the West are quite differently situated, both geographically and in other manners and they have not been in the line to think of Prohibition. Those countries are quite different and here the position is different. Why is the Muslim population so very keen on Prohibition and why are the other communities so very keen? Why do they think alike in this matter? Because they have inherited that sacred thing from their ancestors, though they may call themselves Muslims on one side or Hindus on the other side. It is due to their common inheritance that they are able to say that there shall be universal Prohibition here. What is it that heartens us further; men, women and children are wedded to this theory and the Prohibition movement has support all round. When I was marching from Cuddapah to Erragondapalem at the top of Kurnool district all along the road everywhere without exception I saw little children with flags and so much of enthusiasm was seen; that is why we have got the hope that we will succeed. It has been stated by some hon. members that this was started during the term of office of our last Government and failed. It is unfair to say so. We started Prohibition and we went into the wilderness when we were called out. In the four districts in which we introduced Prohibition, had it been kept on, it would have been a complete success and other districts would have been covered perfectly and total Prohibition would have been in being in all the districts in this Province but for the fact that the Advisers' Government, whose heart was unable to grasp the meaning of the scheme, did not believe in it and therefore, they thought, ' let us close this down and let us accumulate some money ' and thus it was that this drink money was given to us, as though this country would prosper with revenues derived from such sources. Now we have taken it up and we have got every hope that Prohibition would be a perfect success.

" The next item in the constructive programme is village reconstruction. Nobody quarrels with it and everybody is agreeable that the villages should be lifted up. How can they be lifted up? We cannot lift them up by establishing universities in the midst of villages, by giving higher education to all the people living in villages. Their method of life is different. I have known villages which were so prosperous at one time—villages which could be held up as model villages comparable with any village in Europe or any other country, though not in perfect style and form, but in substance. What have you now got to-day. The unfortunate fellows have been practically ruined; they are living only in human form and they have nothing to depend upon. If they had anything to depend upon, they have been dragged into law courts where they had to spend the little money that they had and they were compelled to borrow from Marwari sowcars and they had been rendered mere shells and they have got no substance. Ninety per cent of our population live in villages. If we have taken to their uplift as the most sacred thing, no criticism should be offered; you should have sympathised with us and you must examine the scheme more

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closely and see whether the science of the scheme, the programme and the plan involved in all these things are correct or false. I may tell you that this country has been economically ruined on account of the currency and exchange policy of the British Government and this currency and exchange policy many people do not know. Top ranking gentlemen do not understand the cause of the ruination of the villages. That is why the currency and exchange policy is to be tackled by means of the constructive programme that is devised for these villages. If these villages are made self-sufficient where is the necessity for the villagers to go to the nearest town and pledge himself, borrow and get something to eat? There was enough in the land, there was water; there was the land and they could grow what they want, either vegetable or anything they liked; but people have lost the habit of doing any of these things and they go to distant places eight or ten miles away, mortgage or pledge something and purchase vegetable or other things and carry them eight or ten miles, for their consumption. All these things will automatically disappear if this programme is allowed to be carried on and it is with that hope that that scheme has been started. It is not because even Gandhiji stated that I came into line with him. I first saw the whole scheme of his and I had the conviction that this programme would enable people of this country to progress. That is how I brought in this movement so long ago as 1920-21. I have been sticking to it because I have a firm conviction in this programme. It is with that object that we have been endeavouring to have the whole plan. To ridicule the whole idea of the spinning wheel, the charka and the loom and to ask how they are going to help the country when it is marching in such a rapid way by the development of the mill industry, is not a helpful thing. It has been asked: 'Is it practical? Are you thinking in these days of 1947 of the charka and the loom? The mills are going on flourishing and how can you expect the charka to take its place?' I was about to refer to that the other day in a wrong place by mistake. The mistake is we do not know our own country and we do not know our own province. I referred to this aeroplane business only incidentally to show the distances between the Punjab and us. The Punjab is the most important province in the whole of this country to-day. What is the position of the Punjab with regard to yarn; with regard to mills; who are those people in the Punjab; what is the percentage of Muslims to the entire population; and what is the percentage of Hindus and others; what is the percentage of hand-spun yarn to the total consumption in that country and what is the percentage of hand-made cloth to the quantity used in that province? I have got this statement prepared showing the quantity of yarn consumed in the Punjab and the figures represent so many millions—

Indian mill yarn.	Imported mill yarn.	Hand-spun yarn.	Total.
LB.	LB.	LB.	LB.
12.31	1.19	35.38	48.88
Percentage to the total consumption is as under—			
25.18	2.44	72.38	—

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Hand-spun yarn accounts for 72·38 per cent of total consumption. Let us compare those figures with those for Madras. The figures are, Indian mill yarn 75·48 million pounds, imported yarn 5·83 and hand-spun yarn 0·82 only. Let us take how the position is with regard to total consumption. Indian mill yarn accounts for 91·9 per cent of the total consumption and imported yarn is 7·1 per cent and hand-spun yarn 0·99 per cent or nearly one per cent only. In the Punjab, they make use of hand-spun yarn to the extent of 72 per cent whereas only one per cent of our total consumption is hand-spun yarn. They in the Punjab are a military people; they are a martial race and there the men and women have been producing so much hand-spun yarn, whereas we here are not even producing one per cent. Here in spite of the efforts made by the Congress for the last 26 years, going about the country begging the people, investing large sums of money for that purpose, the All-India Spinners' Association working enthusiastically at it for all these years, why have we this poor result? Some intelligent gentlemen have attacked this matter and that is why I am placing the figures before you to show that the mills have so far stood in the way of the progress of hand-spun yarn. In spite of our efforts only 1 per cent is handspun yarn. Unless you put a stop to it, we cannot interfere with the mills that are working. Unless we stop it somewhere, the working of khadi and its development will not be possible. This possibility has now come because we happen to do it. Otherwise it is not possible to do it at all. A whole lifetime of begging and borrowing would not collect and invest a crore of rupees either in this or that mill or Harijan Seva Sangh. It is the people's money which should help them, and therefore, it is that we wanted to take up this business. Can anyone of you say anything about the possibility and practicability of khadi? You speak of Punjab. I only pointed to the aeroplane to show that if one wanted to go to Punjab he could get into the plane and get down in Lahore and see things there for himself. You do not go about Punjab; you do not know about your own selves. We are unfortunate fellows who cannot claim to have got all the experience and knowledge which some of you have got in other directions as Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar put it. We have been labouring under them. Sir, I am one of those who had been trying to understand both sides and to apply those things as far as possible. Therefore, Sir, it is wrong, I say, to suppose that this textile policy of ours is wrong. Do not attack us mercilessly. Merciless attacks had been made against us, not by you, because I am sure when the matter comes up before you, you will certainly look into the papers and then you will be convinced. My hope is that even the hardest of the critics can be convinced when facts and figures are placed before him, but how are we to meet criticism in the Press—ill-advised and ill-informed Press? It comes forth supporting a particular vested interest. The Press can create a situation by a persistent attack from their own standpoint. That is how we were obliged to suffer. We have suffered because we have no organ of our own in this Province. I had been in charge of a newspaper. I tried to keep it alive for eighteen years spending all the money I could get from the paper. Until

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I became a Minister I kept it alive. But the misfortune is when the matter went up before the Court, one judge thought 'why not I wind it up.' That is how it was closed. I was telling that so long as there was breath in me that paper should not be closed, because the public support was there, in spite of my mismanagement, and my being absent in other places leaving it in the hands of others. We have suffered in that way, and we have been working without that real help we deserved. We can convince Hon. Members of this House and we can convince other people also by coming into contact and by telling them. Sir, the other day Prof. Radhakumud Mukherji, a distinguished educationist of Bengal, who had returned from Washington then, met me in Delhi. He told me 'well Mr. Prakasam, I have put up your scheme, your plan and all those things; there was a lot of discussion and controversy over the matter; finally I convinced them and they accepted this as the best possible thing in the interests of the people.' Therefore, Sir, this is a difficult subject. We have undertaken this under the leadership of the most selfless leader of this country. But for him, Sir, I would not have been living to see this much of development and progress in our country. All these textile plans and schemes are our own. When these things were let known, there was an uproar in our own ranks that we have started all these things without the sanction of Mahatma Gandhi. 'Go there first; obtain his sanction; until then we cannot give you a hearing; we cannot approve of these', this is what they said. Of course, I waited up to a point to prepare schemes. Then I asked the Textile Commissioner to have this scheme tested by Gandhiji himself. He tested it, and he made certain modifications. He said 'your programme is too big; there is difficulty in getting on with the work of all the 25 firkas; you cannot tackle at one stretch all the 25 firkas; therefore, confine it to 7 centres, where there is already progress, and with regard to the rest you bring them up to the preparatory stage. When I met him later, he was keen on this. He is a very able man, a very shrewd man, a man who knows his business more than anybody else. However much I may pretend to be more learned than him, I cannot say that he is not a thinking man, or he is making a mistake. When I saw him about the scheme he asked me (he wrote to me also) 'well, do you think you can ride two horses; can you have the mill progressing on the one side and the charka progressing on the other; riding two horses means that; what are you going to do; you are at the head of a Government; can you work up all the big schemes; get the money set apart, and all these things, if side by side, new mills are also to come up; don't you think it is time for you to say "no more mills"'. I was in perfect agreement with him. I said, 'I entirely agree with you.' That gentleman is a peculiar man. He does not go on with the main point. He goes also to the details. Then he said 'I understand now that there are certain spindles to come; unless you tackle that also how can you expect the success of the scheme.' That is the real point in dispute now. He said 'if those spindles are to be forced upon you, you will have to say that you surrender those spindles.' For this what uproar, Sir? Great men, our

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best friends and others thought that we had made a mistake. Even to-day, hon. friends talk 'how can you say that you will not accept the spindles that have been ordered for by the Government of India; you are bound by them; you cannot avoid it; we shall not allow you to do it.' Sir, I am here representing the whole Province. I am expected to do the right thing. If we have come into conflict with the Government of India, it is not out of any desire to come into conflict and fight with them. It is a question of jurisdiction whether Madras Province should govern itself or whether the Government of India should govern the Madras Province from Delhi. That is the constitutional issue that is involved. I am not a foolish young man who cannot understand these things. All of you know the Government of India gave a licence to import that machinery. 'On a promise, or assurance given by you, those people had sent their moneys and ordered for these things; now how can that be broken,' they ask? It is a big question; not a simple matter. I talked to the Hon. John Mathai and asked him 'is there a breach of faith'. He said 'we have got the legal opinion of a very important man of Madras; there will be a breach of faith; there may be cause of action for damages'. Sir, I had been a lawyer all my lifetime, and those gentlemen who are giving opinions are persons who were with me when I was also practising as a lawyer here. (Laughter.) The impression now is that I have forgotten law (more laughter). I told Dr. John Mathai, 'please do not be carried away by the legal opinion you have got; if you have the opinion of the ex-Advocate-General, I will give you the opinion of the present Advocate-General.' (Laughter.) In that connexion . . .

MR. PRESIDENT:—"That means that what the hon. Member Dr. Sir Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar said that we should not rely on the opinion of Advocates-General is right!" (Laughter.)

* THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"This is a letter from Mahatma Gandhi which I have not revealed out until now. Now I am reading that for the benefit of hon. members. This is a letter from Srirampur, dated the 28th December 1946:—

'My dear Prakasam,

I have now your letter enclosing papers. I hope you have my reply to your telegram, copy of which is enclosed herewith. I have nothing to add to what I have said. I regard Central Government's reply as a challenge to your faith in yourself, the charka and dumb masses of the people of Madras. If the latter are really with you, as I hope they are, you can accept the challenge and you will benefit not only Madras but the whole of Indian humanity.'

Sir, this is another letter from Mahatma Gandhi, dated 5th December 1946, from Srirampur—

'Dear Prakasam,

I have your letter with enclosures. I have studied all the papers you have sent to me. Your statement appears to me to be in order so far as it goes. But I do feel that if the new policy becomes popular with the masses, the concentrated production of cotton will become decentralized and distributed like khadi cloth itself and to that extent the Presidency will be the gainer, as the whole of India will, if it takes up the Madras policy, as it will, if Madras succeeds, as it ought to if the villagers take up khadi with zest. They will, if khadi becomes cheaper than unprotected mill cloth, as Shri Manu Subedar has shown from the figures, which I have printed in Harijan.

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The argument in the cuttings you have been good enough to send me makes no appeal to me and if I get the time from the heavy Noakhali work before me, I shall write in *Harijan*. But I know nothing about the legal argument which, of course, you will get properly examined by the Advocate-General and other lawyers expert in the matter and, if the legal argument is against you, naturally you will resile from the position taken up by you. But I take it that you had the legal position carefully examined before you took the plunge.

But apart from the question of establishing new mills or expanding the old ones, how is the scheme progressing? Have you already made the commencement?

Finally I wrote to him, Sir, that spindles were surrendered, but the Government of India declined to accept the surrender. This is a letter which he wrote on 4th January 1947—

‘Dear Prakasam,

I have your two letters, dated 10th and 11th instant, and telegram sent from New Delhi. At the time of dictation they are not in front of me. I am dictating this in the small hours of the morning. I am glad the fast of Ramulu ended in the happy manner you describe. He had sent me a telegram immediately he broke his fast. I know he is a solid worker though a little eccentric. (Laughter.) I am glad too that Mr. Daniel Thomas never delivered the speech attributed to him.

About the Madras quota spindles I am absolutely clear. If I were the Government of Madras, as you are, and I had the backing of public opinion I would do this in spite of the manufactured opinion of interested parties, and, if the worst happened, I would pay for the spindles of my quota and yet not use them. I regard mill-owners and Chamber of Commerce's opinion to be interested in the sense that they and their supporters have made up their minds that what is good for them is good for the whole India. It is not a question of honesty and dishonesty, it is a question pure and simple of conflict of ideals. Of course, it is open to these gentlemen to retort that in my sense the opinion of the masses may be called interested. If such be the argument I would hold that the interest of the masses as conceived by them must prevail over that of the classes. It is conceivable that in certain cases the opinion of the masses may be intrinsically right and that of the classes intrinsically absurd. This to my mind is the crux of democracy. Hence, as the Government, if I am confident about the backing of the masses, I would tell the Centre that my Government would pay damages for breach of contract, if that be the legal result. I must serve the masses to the best of my ability.

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Jajaji tells me that the scheme you have announced has not been put into operation. If you do not strike the iron while it is hot the whole thing might become stale and might not produce the anticipated result. Of course, I am utterly out of court here because I do not know full facts.’

‘I did not publish this letter until now. I had opposition from inside our party. One important member raised the point on this question and gave a challenge to me and said, ‘with your policy I am not in agreement.’ He did not know exactly whether I was doing it on my own account, without the backing of that great man. So in that party meeting of ours—I did not disclose till then—I read out these three letters for the first time. Whatever they may have been thinking before that, the outside world did not expect such a thing till now. And so we were held up to ridicule day after day, week after week and month after month by the newspapers, saying, ‘What is this textile policy? Can this Government survive for a single day?’ Newspapers, what is it they did not say against us? They said, ‘this Ministry is on its death-bed; even Sanjeevi would not put life into it!’ (Laughter.) Take all these things into consideration; wait and see, and you will find what happens. I may tell hon. members to-day, even if I am not here to-morrow as a Minister or as the head of this

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Government, I am confident by going into the country I can carry on this programme. What is this four crores? You can get from the poor people, not four crores, but forty or fifty crores, if we want, if we tell them 'this is your work.' That is our faith in the programme; that is our policy. I implore every one of you to take the Punjab instance into account and see how things are going on. If you go into your own province you will find the same thing. I went into one area and looked into the register and found out the number of spinners in Gudur in Kurnool district to be 500. And what is more? Out of this 500, nearly four hundred were Muhammadan citizens. It is because these facts are not placed before you, you don't see how it easily helps the poor people.

"Coming now to producers-cum-consumers' societies, these have been mercilessly criticized. There may be faults in the execution of the work in the first stage. But nobody can say the foundation, the co-operative basis, is wrong. Even the Soviet Republic is based upon this. The constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as amended up to 2nd February 1944, Article V, is this :

"Soviet property in U.S.S.R. exists either in the form of State property", that is, the possession of the whole people (State means the whole people), "or in the form of co-operative collective farm property", that is, property of a collective farm or property of a co-operative association."

"Here, I wish to refer back to the textile policy to let the House know about the Advocate-General's opinion on the matter. As it is a long one, I do not wish to read it but give only the substance of it. When Dr. Mathai said that legal opinion is that there would be breach of faith and that there may be a cause of action for damages, I asked the Advocate-General here to examine the whole matter and give a clear opinion on it. His opinion is that there can be no breach of faith, and as there is no contract here, there is no breach of contract here. So no claim for damages can lie; because apparently though it looks like it the application is made only for a permit. Under the rules, to cross the frontier of the Government of India, i.e., for goods to enter the limits of India, they introduced a system of issuing licences. That is the position. That is what the Advocate-General explained. This is a State matter. There is no contract here at all. There is no permit also to anybody. It is merely licence given to you. The State represent the people, as I said a little while ago. The executive of any Government—and here in Madras, it means the Ministers—are not entitled to enter into any contract so as to affect the interests of the people for so many years together. That is the law laid down in a particular case in England. I will read only a few sentences from the opinion of the Advocate-General: 'Licences of this description, which are issued by the State, have to be distinguished from other licences between individuals and special considerations would be applicable to them. I shall presently consider the matter even from the point of view of their being ordinary licences and point out that, even so, it will

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not make any difference, since, in law, a bare licence, which does not amount to a contract or a grant, is revocable. But in the case of a licence of this nature, there is the additional fact that has to be borne in mind, namely, that public interests are primarily involved both in the grant of the licence as well as in the cancellation thereof; and it has to be considered whether the Government can at all preclude itself from the reservation of a power to cancel a licence in the interests of the State. A striking case arose in the English courts and is reported in (1921) 3 King's Bench, page 500. There, neutral shipowners obtained an undertaking from the British Government that, if they sent a particular ship to England with a particular class of cargo, she should not be detained. On the faith of that undertaking the owners sent their ship to a British port with a cargo of the stipulated kind. The British Government withdrew the undertaking and refused clearance. On a petition of right for damages for breach of contract, it was held that the Government's undertaking was not enforceable in a Court of Law, it being not within the competence of the Crown to make a contract, which would have the effect of limiting their power of executive action in the future. It was pointed out that no doubt, the Government can bind itself through its officers by a commercial contract and if it does so, it must perform it like anybody else or pay damages for the breach. But, where there was no commercial contract but merely an arrangement whereby the Government purported to give an assurance as to what its executive action would be in the future in relation to a particular ship in the event of her coming to England with a particular kind of cargo which was merely an expression of intention to act in a particular way in a certain event, it was not competent for the Government to fetter its future executive action, which must necessarily be determined by the needs of the (community) State when the question arises. It was pointed out that 'the Government cannot by contract hamper its freedom of action in matters which concern the welfare of the State.

" Now, Sir, I am trying to point out to you that the licence was given by the Government of India on the recommendation of the Government of Madras; whether it is the present Government or the previous Advisers' Government, it makes no difference. Now we have introduced a scheme for the development of khaddar and we have invested money in it. We have made all the preparations all over the province to start the work of the people, which means the work of the State so long as the Ministers remain the servants of the people. We have to carry on our business here in such a manner that their interests will not be affected. When the licences were applied for, these schemes were not here and none of these proposals was contemplated at that time. Now after this new Government have come into office and after these schemes have been started and placed before the whole country what is it that we have to do to protect the interests of the schemes which are meant for the benefit of the people, which means the State. We have got the right to say: At that time we ordered for it and now owing to the fact that

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we have undertaken these schemes we cannot agree to that. The Advocate-General also has referred to this in his long opinion and I am telling you this briefly. Therefore it is that we say that these things should not come. Sir, in my view, the Government were wrong, Dr. John Mathai was quite wrong and his successor Mr. Rajagopalachari is quite wrong in saying: 'There is a breach of faith here and we cannot allow it.' (K. T. M. Ahmed Ibrahim Sahib Bahadur: 'What about the licensees. Sir?') Sir, about the licensees, if the worst comes to the worst, we can pay compensation to them. That is what Gandhiji says and that is what I would also do. I would not put them to loss. (Hear, hear.) If necessary we will give them other work and make them utilize their plant and machinery for some other purpose which would help this country without interfering with this business. They cannot be losers. Sir, I say the Government of India are wrong and there is a constitutional issue involved in it. We have not entered into any contract with the persons who wanted the licence. We simply granted the licence that has permitted them to take their goods into the frontier gates where I have put my man to collect the customs duties. Beyond that there is no legal right given to anybody. The Government of India cannot say we should allow. We are the people who should look to the interests of the people here and carry on all the schemes that we have launched. We are the people to decide whether we are doing the right thing or whether we are doing something wrong to those people who have already ordered for them. (K. T. M. Ahmed Ibrahim Sahib Bahadur: 'Establish Pakistan, Sir.') No Pakistan. You and I will become one and will live together. We will never talk of Pakistan if we begin on these lines and we will go together under the same yoke. Therefore, so far as that matter is concerned there a constitutional issue is involved. Why am I here if I am not to give a reply to them when I am in the right and if I cannot fight them and convince them and get the right thing done to our people. You have no idea how we have been entangled in the problems of this province, namely, food and other things on account of the interference of the Government of India and on account of the war. It has been taking the life out of the millions of innocent people. The direction is given by somebody sitting there: 'You must export, etc.' Sir, we are exporting to-day 13,000 bales when our people are starving for yarn, and our looms are idle. We are not able to give yarn for our handloom industry. It is therefore that the price of the handloom has become prohibitive. We fought this issue. They say, 'No, you have to export.' Sir, it is a moral obligation. There is no law which can say that I cannot keep my own goods for the benefit of my own weavers. There is nothing like that. But still we are trying to carry on the administration bending our head and receiving all the knocks that can be received not only from the public but also from the Government above us. We may have to tell them that there should be a limit for all these things. We shall be doing that if it becomes impossible for our people to get yarn for making the necessary cloth. Then we will have to shift for ourselves. That will be our position. I was telling them these things orally but I was not committing

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myself to anything in writing, because having become so old in the experience of this world I have been adjusting myself so that the people may not suffer on account of our indiscretions. Sir, enough indiscretions have been made, we are responsible for many mistakes and on account of that all these troubles are hanging on our heads and we are suffering in every possible manner.

“ Now, Sir, about the co-operative societies I will say something. It is not a new thing that I have picked up now or yesterday in a library. Sir, this is a subject on which I have devoted my life for nearly 26 years, ever since these multi-purpose societies were started in Baroda and other places and those pamphlets were issued by them. From that day I have gone into the whole position. Before that date I happened to be in the Central Legislative Assembly and I happened to go to the overseas countries to study not only the labour subjects but also about these co-operative societies. I have studied country after country in these matters. In Denmark, particularly, it was a delight. One would not come out when once he goes into the question of co-operative societies. Sir, as it were, this co-operative movement has become a part of my bone and I say, Sir, that it is the only thing that can save an unfortunate country like India which has been exploited in thousands of ways. Sir, it is in that way that this ‘ co-operation ’ has been undertaken by me and when I wanted to start this co-operative organization in Malabar there was a lot of trouble from the Co-operative Department of the Government itself. Their conception was that Malabar would not be able to supply even three to four lakhs worth of goods. That was how the discussion went on in our own conference. They then said : ‘ We have no men, how can we start this or that ? ’ They said this because they have been used to one kind of training only. They fixed a certain period and in that period they will give training to the men and grant them certificates. Then these men will proceed to their destinations to join their work. But I have been used to all kinds of life. I told them : ‘ Take Malabar. It will give you the best of young men. You need not have any doubt about competent young men being available there. ’ Sir, the young men did not require a year’s training. They could be trained within the shortest possible period. Sir, within three to six months they were trained and they were put on their work. Afterwards the department itself certified that everything has gone on all right. Sir, in Malabar 50 to 70 lakhs have been subscribed for. The only thing is that the people should be told that they must do the business in these lines. After it succeeded to some extent my Muslim friends were raising points and they were telling me that I should go there and look into the matter. After going there and looking into the business with the co-operation of these friends, we have settled the matters and as I have read just now the whole thing is going on smoothly.

“ Sir, in the northern districts the whole trouble was created by the vested interests. Some of our own friends have some interest in the matter and therefore it became very difficult unfortunately for this affair to make headway in certain areas and all kinds of rumours

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have been spread. Whenever the thing came up I went into the matter and I was satisfying myself that there was nothing wrong in it. This is how the work is going on.

" Now, Sir, instead of speaking freely I would like to explain the historical position of these co-operative societies. Already in my budget speech I pointed out how during the whole period of 42 or 44 years ever since this movement was started it could not be of any help. I know in my tours in the overseas countries how the whole co-operative movement could do much. It is to show its previous history I am going to refer to the whole thing about how during the last so many years this movement had gone down because attacks were made in so many quarters. I will just give you a more correct idea of this thing.

" I gather that my reference to the co-operative movement in my opening speech has caused discontent in some quarters. It was far from my intention to give any offence to the large body of co-operators, official as well as non-official, who had been working in the field in the cause of co-operation or belittle their efforts or achievements. The co-operative movement started nearly 42 years ago and the fact remains that so far as our rural life is concerned, nothing tangible has been achieved except in the small field of credit and even here the achievements have not been conspicuous. It was clear, therefore, that a new line of activity should be started to further the welfare of the producers. The Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, reporting in 1928, observed that under the conditions prevailing it was inevitable that the cultivator should come off second best in his contest with the highly specialized knowledge and the vastly superior resources of those who purchase his produce. The middlemen carry none of the risks incidental to production. They are tolerably secure in the enjoyment of their profit margins, merchants being, as a rule, in a position, by adjusting prices, to pass on to the consumer any rise in costs, while commission agents are concerned mainly with obtaining their commission over the largest possible turn-over. They observed that group marketing must be more efficient than marketing by individuals especially in conditions such as those existing in India where the individual producer is such a small unit. The ideal to be aimed at is, therefore, co-operative sale societies which will educate the cultivator in the production and preparation for market of his produce. They remarked that persons who interested themselves in the many-sided development of co-operative movement in Europe and America and elsewhere had expressed regret that the organization of societies for purchase and sale had made so little progress in India.

" It was nearly 19 years ago that these observations were recorded and no substantial progress has been made in this direction.

" I would refer now to the report of the Committee on Co-operation in Madras, presided over by Sir T. Vijayaraghava Acharivar. This committee considered that simultaneously with the enlargement of the field of village co-operative societies, there

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should be an intense drive for enlarging their membership and bringing every eligible family of the right type of character in their area of operations within their ambit. As far as possible there should be scope in village credit societies for all sections of the community each of which has definite, economic and social needs. This intensive development is necessary so that the money-lender's credit may be replaced by co-operative and therefore controlled credit within as short a period as possible.

" In paragraph 160 of the report they recommended that the intensive expansion must comprehend the enlarging of the activities of village credit co-operatives by making them discharge all the functions which are contemplated by the model by-laws of these societies. These include the supply of manure, seed, improved implements and other necessary equipment required for agriculture, joint purchase on indent system and sale of produce. They may also undertake the supply of electrical and other mechanical power on a collective basis and even farming on a co-operative basis and such other allied functions as may be decided upon by the committees of societies. These objects are so conceived as to achieve the ideal of co-operative societies and help the village in the triple programme of " better farming, better business and better living." The report of this committee was issued in 1940 but vigorous action has not been taken to implement the recommendations.

" I would then refer you to the more recent authoritative recommendation on the subject contained in the report of the Famine Enquiry Commission issued in 1945. The whole section on multi-purpose co-operation in part IV, chapter III of the report is worth serious attention. I would refer you only to some extracts.

" Co-operation should cover the whole field of farming economy. The provision of relatively cheap credit is not enough, in fact, cheap credit by itself may do harm. A co-operative society of which a small cultivator is a member should be able to assist him in many ways in his farming business.

" The case in favour of multi-purpose societies is set forth in paragraph 7 (p. 318). The committee records the opinion that the future development of agriculture in the case of small and medium farmer depends in considerable measure on the ability of the Government to bring together in the multi-purpose organization, to establish effective contact between these cultivators and the agencies of the Government and to carry through a programme of planned development embracing all aspects of the economy of the cultivator.

" In the face of these authoritative pronouncements on the subject no further defence is necessary to justify the Government scheme of producers-cum-consumers co-operative societies. These are a step in the direction of the multi-purpose societies which have been recommended as the only effective means of improving the lot of the cultivators who form the vast bulk of the population. Opportunity has been taken of the present difficult conditions to bring the

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producers together into such societies and it is the hope of the Government that the experience the producers gain by working together now will enable them to continue to stand together for the common good when normal conditions return. Every effort will be made to effect a fusion of the existing village co-operative organizations and these new societies.

“ There has been criticism on some points of details during the course of debate. The most important of these is that the shares are collected under official pressure and that but for official agencies these societies would not have come into existence at all. In the extracts I have already quoted, official support has been stressed as necessary for making progress. The Famine Commission attach very great importance to constant guidance and supervision by official agency. This does not of course mean that the activities of the union and its primary societies should be subject to official control. Self-help is the foundation of the co-operative movement and the directors of the union and the members of the primary societies must recognise that responsibility for the working of the institutions rests primarily upon them. Every society must learn to keep its own accounts and transact its own business, but until the principles of co-operation are more fully understood we consider it essential that official guidance and control should be maintained.

“ The next line of criticism that this scheme is intended to seek political power for one party and exclude the Muslims. Sir, Muslims are not excluded because they are Muslims; but excluded like members of other communities to the extent that they are middlemen. As these societies get established official control will gradually be relaxed and it is difficult to see how these organizations can be made to serve the purpose of any single party. The shareholders will be the primary producers and the directors will gradually be elected even in the Circars. There may be some defects and irregularities in the actual organization and conduct of these societies because they were organized speedily to handle the produce which was coming to market. As soon as the societies get on their way, such complaints will be looked into and established defects will be set right. I do not think I need take any more time of the House in defence of this scheme of the Government. What I have said is, I hope, sufficient to convince the hon. members that far from foreboding failure and disaster to these societies, it is the duty of all members to assist in making them a success for the well-being of the country.

“ Sir, the Village, Taluk and Food Committees have come in for some criticism. But it has not been directed against the institutions of the committees themselves but in regard to the details. I take it that the House accepts that these committees have a very useful purpose to serve. I feel that they are the nucleus of the Village Republics which, I hope to see established to revitalise life in the villages.

“ There have been complaints that certain communities may not find seats on these bodies merely by election. Provision has

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been made for this contingency by authorizing the nomination of two members of unrepresented communities or special interest to the Taluk Committees and up to five members to the District Food Committees.

" Sir, that much in defence of this scheme. One other important subject about which much comment was made by hon. members of this House is the Zamindari Bill that is proposed to be introduced in this session, followed up by proceedings that would abolish the zamindari system altogether. I have been a friend of the zamindars all my lifetime. There is nothing aimed at any of these friends. On the other hand I should be feeling with some of you to consider whether anything could be done to advance their own interests without prejudice to the interests of the general ryot population. It is only with that object that this Bill has been introduced. There is no motive behind it. There is no ill-will against any of these zamindars. A question was put in the other House by Kumararaja Sir Muthiah Chettiyar: " What about the tax on Government lands? " Last time, when I was Revenue Minister I prepared a Bill for the reduction of rents in ryotwari areas also. If the zamindars had been increasing rents in their areas without knowing exactly their own position, the Government have not been in any way idle. If the zamindars increased their rents through their Diwans in an uncouth manner, the Government, being a perfectly civilized organization introduced what was called resettlements and at every resettlement, they invariably increased the rents. During the time of the first Congress Ministry this question was considered at great length and we wanted to reduce all the enhancements made at successive resettlements, Mr. Holdsworth was then Revenue Secretary. He was a very good man. He is no more now. We went through the documents preserved in the Secretariat and found out what should be the proper rent with regard to the Government jirayati lands. That has been my policy. At one time, one might go to jails resigning office, another time one might go into wilderness in another manner. That does not matter. This is a question relating to the country as a whole. The rents should be reduced both in the Government lands and the zamindari lands. Then will come the stage at which we have to consider whether land tax should not be abolished altogether. That is my feeling about it. I have studied the whole subject. If the taxes are reduced first, thereafter we will consider whether land revenue should not be dispensed with altogether. It is unfortunate that land in this country alone has been bearing an unbearable burden and cultivators have become ruined.

" Am I exceeding my time, Mr. President? "

MR. PRESIDENT :—" The Hon. Premier may take as much times as he requires. I am sure the Opposition also will agree to this in fairness, because they have had as much time as they wanted."

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM :—" Thank you, Sir, I have been benefited very much by the criticisms of hon. members, by

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the approach which they made to various questions, because it is not always from one point of view alone that we will be able to know the truth about things.

" Sir, the Zamindari legislation is a huge problem. For centuries we have been slaves, we have lost everything. I am asked : " Have other Provinces followed this policy? Why then do you start this mill policy? " If other Provinces would not follow, somebody must make a beginning somewhere. I am the only man who can take it into my hands and see to it, because I am convinced about it and also because it has been supported by that great man who has devoted his life for the sake of the masses. I would request hon. members to look upon this without any prejudice. I am so certain that within a few years, the whole plan when it is put into action will become very useful and serviceable.

5 p.m. " Now Sir, you must all forgive me. I have made notes of all the points in the speeches delivered here. I do not wish to tax hon. members by attempting to go into details with regard to every point. I thank you, Sir, and the hon. members for the way in which they have dealt with the whole of this budget. This budget, it has been said, relates only to the villages, to the constructive programme, khadi work, cottage industries and all these things. But we have not been pledged only to these things. The larger industries are the industries that can really save and protect this country. It is not merely the Government or the Ministers who may call themselves the Governors who can give all that the people want. People want substantial support from the wealthy people. I am not attacking the wealthy people. In all these schemes some wealthy friends will be obliged to invest. I have been appealing to them not only here but in Malabar or wherever I go. Don't think you may be left out altogether, don't feel that you are deprived of your professions and your sources of income. If that should be the result we being in office should condemn ourselves. My plan and the plan of every one of us is to have the industrial organization in such a manner that all the wealth in the country will go into that. We are starting an industrial finance corporation on the lines on which such corporations have been started in Britain and other countries. I studied those things well and how they have been functioning. They are autonomous bodies. The Finance Corporation is an autonomous body which would be ready to give finances to promote industries. The Industrial Finance Corporation is a body which takes the industries on hand for the purpose of developing nationalization and doing all those things. That is why I have been telling : Just have some patience. Within a few months perhaps, money will be required in thousands, in lakhs and even in crores. If that money is put in, what will be the position? Will we be in the position of commission agents? Ever since Britain had taken possession of this country—some of you may not know—these British people tried to introduce here the system of banking and the system of issuing cheques, while hundies and all those things have been flourishing

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on the largest scale. Nowhere else in the world can you find such institutions as our indigenous banks. The traders and merchants resisted up to a point. It was only then that the Indian National Congress came into existence in 1885. The traders and merchants, fully conscious of the encroachment on their trade and how their business was going to dogs, were very nearly prepared to rise in armed revolt as it were. Then it was Hume Wedderburn and others started the Indian National Congress with a view to divert all the activities into constitutional channels. It was the constitutional channel that bound the Congress leadership until this than came from South Africa and put life into the dead population here, after the Jalianwalabagh."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" The discussion on the budget has now ended. The House now adjourns and will meet at 3 p.m, on the 22nd instant."

The House then adjourned.

